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MISSOURI
HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 1. OCTOBER 1906. NO. 1.

Salutatory.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has decided to establish a quarterly magazine of history, under the title of "Missouri Historical Review," of which the present publication is the first number.

For the benefit of those to whom the Society itself is unknown, a few facts may be given. It was organized May 26, 1898, by the Missouri Press Association, incorporated in March, 1899, and in May of that year was made a trustee for the state by the Fortieth General Assembly. Its library has been built up more rapidly than that of any other historical society in the country, so that it now has an accession list of 12,290 volumes, and a pamphlet collection of about 20,000, in all some 32,000 titles, in addition to 40,000 duplicate books and pamphlets for exchanges. It regularly receives more than 750 periodicals of Missouri, and these are bound in suitable volumes for preservation. At the World's Fair at St. Louis, it made an exhibit of the periodicals of Missouri for the year

1903, and of publications by Missouri authors, for which the Society was awarded a grand prize.

Its library contains a large part of the general, county and city histories of the state, the proceedings of the various secret fraternities and societies of all kinds, such as the Bar Association, the Bankers, the Medical, the Press and other state associations.

Of college and school reports it has more than 3,000; of minutes of religious organizations in the state 2,000; of the official publications of the state more than the state library and all the departments in Jefferson City combined; and large collections of the municipal publications of St. Louis, Kansas City, St. Joseph and the other cities of the state.

The society has held five annual meetings at which valuable historical papers were presented, and these will be given to the public thru the pages of the Review. There are, too, many persons in the state who can relate matters of historical interest, and the establishment of a journal in which articles may be published will doubtless induce many persons to contribute papers of merit. The law provides that local historical societies may become auxiliary to the state society, and the Review will encourage the establishment of such societies, and the general development of historical interest among the citizens of our state.

The Review will serve to keep before the public the objects of those who established and are supporting the Society. It will give space to genealogical items, to notes, especially of interesting facts relating to Missouri, to reviews of historical publications, and to brief biographies of persons who were notable from having held official positions or from being authors of publications.

The Society invites the co-operation of all persons who are interested in the history of the state.

THE ROMANCE OF WESTERN HISTORY.*

It may well be with some misgiving that one from the New England seaboard ventures to address you upon a subject relating to your own history. Such an outsider must, perforce, be ignorant of so many things that what he thinks is new may be well worn commonplace; for we are ever subject to the illusion that what is new to us must be equally novel to others. Yet the field of history is so inexhaustible and the points of view from which it may be examined are so various, that one need not, after all, though a stranger, shrink from entering so broad and so inviting a field as Western History.

As I have selected a broad area I shall also assume the privilege of a somewhat discursive treatment of my theme, and not hold myself rigorously to a study of explorations, for I think I may do more for you in an hour in briefly touching upon several aspects of this subject than in a systematic examination of one of them.

That western history is a broad and inviting field hardly calls for demonstration to a western audience, and so I will pass at once to a further and less obvious characterization of it. Western history far more than the history of our Atlantic seaboard is intellectually a broadening and liberalizing study.

Local or regional history ordinarily drifts into mere antiquarianism or genealogical piety. This tendency is particularly strong in New England where the history of the town or state deals in the main with the development of a larger or smaller society from the nucleus provided by the emigration of some associated families from an earlier home, or from England. The background is English. There is little in the study to dissolve hereditary national prejudices, little to take one outside of what is bred into his life.

In New England and New France the rivalry and hostility of the two rival mother lands were renewed and carried on, and the student of New England history has too often to review the horrors of raids and massacres fomented by the French authorities to rid himself of traditional prejudice, perhaps of a sort of ancestral enmity. Far different is it with the local history of these western regions, once the great colonial domain of France and bearing the name of the great king. In Old Louisiana the French explorers, *voyageurs* and priests are the path breakers the forerunners, not the deadly enemies of one's forefathers. They first viewed the land and reported that it was good, and we have reaped the fruit of their labors.

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*An address before the State Historical Society of Missouri, February 7, 1906.

The impulse to admire and honor them, to appreciate them at the full, suffers no chill from the recollection of a life and death struggle with one's forebears. Here, too, as one goes back in time the field of his survey broadens. He is taken out beyond his purely English environment. He is thrown into the atmosphere of large designs, of imperial expansion, of empire building. Spanish and French explorers open the drama for him, and in their aims and designs are revealed the genesis of national policies, the great landmarks, as it were, of our history.

The study of this history is broadening and liberalizing, then, for almost inevitably the student is at once lifted out of mere local antiquarianism. The Spanish and French colonial systems, the interaction of the public policy of Spain and France throughout the whole eighteenth century, demand his attention, and American history assumes a larger aspect and is more obviously a factor in the history of the great European states than appears to one who follows the development of Virginia and Massachusetts. I would not be understood to disparage the value of local history or the opportunity of the local historian in the east, but rather to emphasize the distinction which attaches to western history. The local history of our eastern communities is indispensable to the understanding of the development of our institutions, but it depends for its interest and its cultivation mainly upon the residents or their descendants. To strangers whose taste for institutional history is not developed, it seems either dry or gossipy, and concerned with the trivial interests of daily life. The atmosphere of the early history of the trans-Mississippi west, on the other hand, is far different. It invites in its treatment from the historian the broadest outlook, and it begets in the student a wholesome and enlightening appreciation of the spirit and contributions of France and Spain to the greater achievements in human history.

Western history, again, possesses in an exceptional degree those elements of romance which are almost indispensable in kindling the earliest interest in history and in keeping alive the flame, and which in fact have been the great motive forces in revivals of historical study. It is not without significance that Herodotus himself, the father of history, was something of a romancer and that the greatest individual factor in developing historical interest and studies in the 19th century was the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott.

In thus pressing the value of the romantic element in history I shall not be held unfaithful, I trust, to the stern duties of the historical critic. There are romances and romances. It may be the fortune of the critic to attack romances dear to the popular heart because they are essentially untrue and distort the whole outline, and the fulfillment of this duty is entirely consistent with a belief that history without romance will have little interest except for the trained mind. The charm of the romantic element lies in the play of personality, the contrasts of character, the filling of the foreground by the hero whose fortunes enthrall us in youth and do not lose their charm in age. Then again there is the romance of dramatic junctures, of the great scenes, and of those turning points of history which kindle the imagination, and lead one on to reason out what might have been, a process which is often quite as truly enlightening in historical study as ascertaining what did happen. There is, further, the romance of great designs which become shaping forces in historical development.

In all these elements of romance this history of the trans-Mississippi west is rich and from this wealth I shall this evening cull here and there the material for our consideration.

The first entrance of Europeans upon this scene is dramatic beyond most events in American history. To think that it should have been visited for the first time in the same year by two exploring parties, one coming from the Atlantic and the other from the Pacific three hundred and sixty-five years ago, more than four generations before Marquette and Joliet floated down the Mississippi and over two generations before the real beginnings of New England and Virginia!

In less than half a century after the voyage of Columbus, Hernando de Soto starting from the coast of Florida, and Coronado setting out from the Gulf of California, came within a few days' journey of each other in 1541, De Soto penetrating northern Arkansas and Coronado coming as far east as central Kansas.

There is no event in the history of the exploration in the United States more impressive to the imagination than this almost complete spanning of the continent two centuries and a half before any explorer north of the present territory of Mexico ever covered its breadth from ocean to ocean.

In the expedition of Coronado again we have the first elaborate exploration of our country which originated on this side of the Atlantic. The enterprise was under the patronage of the Viceroy of New Spain and led by the governor of New Galicia. The expedition of De Soto, on the other hand, was in a measure an outcome of the conquest of Peru, for in Peru its leader had made his fortune.

A study of the literature of the De Soto expedition opens up still other fields. There is the truly classic narrative of that anonymous Portuguese known only as the Gentleman of Elvas which in literary quality seems to me not undeserving a place beside the Anabasis of Xenophon, and whose historical importance is marked by the fact that Richard Hakluyt translated it in 1609 to demonstrate to the English public the value of the new colony of Virginia; next to the work of the Gentleman of Elvas comes the daily record of events kept by Rodrigo Ranjel, private secretary of De Soto, and preserved by the historian, Oviedo. This was not published at all until half a century ago and it was made English only a little over a year ago. (1) Finally, for the student of literature there is the romance of chivalry which Garcilaso de la Vega, the Peruvian born son of a Spanish general and an Inca princess, wove from the materials at his hand; for "The Florida of the Inca" as his work is called, which is known in a measure to English readers through the abridged adaptation of Theodore Irving entitled "The Conquest of Florida," is really an historical romance modeled after the old romances immortally parodied in Don Quixote.

No other examples need be cited to illustrate the broad ramifications of western history, and of its literature, yet I have by no means enumerated all its phases of interest. Quite apart from their literary quality or from the importance of the events they record the narratives of pioneer expeditions will always possess as records of the first observations and impressions of our land an unfailing interest.

It is, I think, a common emotion when we observe one of the great natural wonders of the world to try to imagine the impression it made upon those who first saw it, unforewarned. Too often the early explorers have been either too harassed with their difficulties or too insensible of natural wonders to gratify this interest in a satisfactory degree. A striking exception is afforded by Columbus whose narrative of his first voyage is full of responsive appreciation of the natural beauties of tropical island scenery. The historians of the expeditions of De Soto and Coronado did not possess the sensitive imagination of Columbus, and they describe the natural wonders in a rather matter-of-fact way which disappoints us a little, yet with a realistic touch that testifies to their accuracy of observation. What were the sensations of the first Europeans who looked upon the majestic Father of Waters? De Soto and his followers first saw the Great River, Rio Grande, as they called it, May 8, 1541. (2) They crossed it in June after having spent

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1 See *The Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, etc. edited by Edward Gaylord Bourne, New York, 1904.

2. This date is not absolutely certain. It may possibly have been a day or two later. *See Ranjel s Relation* in *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, II, 137.

about a month in building barges. "The distance," says the unknown Gentleman of Elvas, "was half a league, a man standing on the shore could not be told whether he were a man or something else, from the other side. The stream was swift, and very deep; the water, always flowing turbidly, brought along from above many trees and much timber driven onward by its force." (3) "Many of these conquerors," says Rodrigo Ranjel, the private secretary of De Soto, "said this river was larger than the Danube," and later: "And Saturday, June 18, the whole force crossed this great river in the four barges and gave thanks to God because in His good pleasure nothing more difficult could confront them." (4)

The greatest natural wonder beheld by any of Coronado's men is perhaps also the greatest natural wonder of the world, the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in Arizona. This stupendous gorge was visited by Lopez de Cardenas and twelve companions in the spring of 1540, and thus by a strange chance this, the greatest of our scenic wonders, and the latest to be explored, visited and appreciated by our people, was the first to be seen by Europeans, antedating the first visit to Niagara by nearly a century and a half and to the Yosemite Valley and to the wonderland of the Yellowstone by three centuries.

What could De Cardenas report of such a sight as now greets one at Rowe's or O'Neil's Point? The words of Castaneda, the historian, are few but vivid and I will quote them all as they have not, I believe, hitherto been presented in English with entire accuracy.

"The General Coronado," writes Castaneda, "next despatched Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with 12 companions to see this river, and he, when he reached Tusayan, was well received and entertained by the natives. They gave him guides to continue his march and they set forth from that place laden with provisions, since they had to go through a land without people until they reached the part that was inhabited, which

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3. *Narratives of de Soto* I, 115.
4. *Narratives of de Soto*, II, 137-138.

the Indians said was more than 20 days' march distant. Then when they had gone 20 days' march they came to the gorges of the river, where, when they were thinking of getting across them, it seemed as if it was three or four leagues through the air to the other side. (5) This land is high and full of crooked dwarf pines and very cold under the north so that although there in a warm season one could not live for the cold in that gorge. They were three days in searching a descent to the river which appeared from above as if the water were only six feet across, and yet according to the account of the Indians it was half a league broad. To go down was impossible, because after three days one place seeming to them the least difficult, Captain Melgosa and one Juan Galeras and another companion as the most agile attempted to go down. And they went slowly down in sight of those above until their forms were lost from view, since eyesight was not able to reach them, and they returned at four o'clock in the afternoon and reported that they were unable to get down by reason of the great difficulties that they found; since what above appeared easy was not so but very rough and hard. They said they had gone down a third of the way and that from the place they reached the river appeared very big, and according to what they saw the breadth that the Indian mentioned was to be taken for the truth. From the top they distinguished some great rocks wrenched from the side of the gorge to all appearance the size of a man. Those that went down swore that when they came to them they were larger than the greatest tower of Seville." (6)

Were there time I should like to draw further from Castaneda the earliest notices we have of the pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, of unique Acoma, of the impressions of

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5. This passage was completely misunderstood by Ternaux-Compans whose interpretation Mr Winship followed in the first edition of his translation. See G. P. Winship *The Coronado Expedition*, 14th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp 429, 489. The misunderstanding is corrected in Winship's *Jovrney of Coronado*, New York, 1904, p. 35, but the descriptive force of the passage is missed by translating *barrancas* "banks" instead of "gorges."

6. From the Spanish text as printed in Winship's *The Coronado Expedition*, 429.

the Spaniards of the great plains between the Mississippi and the mountains. I can only note the first appearance of a name to stand for a long sought goal of French exploration, *la mar de poniente* "the Western sea." Castaneda speaks of the vast level country "between the mountain chains which I said were near the North sea and the South sea, which might better be called the Western sea along this coast." (7)

Soon the French were to explore this vast central region and from the first the one goal was steadily before them of finding the way to the sea of the West.

A hundred years have passed since Lewis and Clark solved the problem and the recent centennial anniversary has been productive of a wealth of books, articles and lectures. Yet in spite of all that has been written I wonder if it is generally appreciated how early and how persistently French explorers aimed to accomplish this work.

The plan of operations carried out by Jefferson and Lewis and Clark seems to have occurred to the very first explorers who saw the turbid current of the Missouri pouring into the peaceful Mississippi from the unknown West.

Father Marquette writes: "We were sailing placidly down the clear and quiet water," (it was late in June,) "when we heard the noise of a rushing stream toward which we were headed. I have never seen anything more frightful; a mass of whole trees, branches, floating islets, was issuing from the mouth of the River Pekitanoni with such violence that one could not venture to cross it without great peril. The disturbance was such the water was all muddy from it and could not clear itself. Pekitanoni is a considerable river which coming pretty far from the Northwest empties into the Mississippi. There are several Indian villages on this river. I hope by its means to discover the Vermilion Sea or Gulf of California. We are pretty certain by the direction of the course of the Mississippi that if it continues the same it empties into the Gulf of Mexico. It would be very advantageous to find the river which goes to the South sea to-

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7. *Journey of Coronado*, 11, *The Coronado Expedition*, 455.

ward California, and this is what I hope to find by the Pekitanoni according to the report that the Indians have given me " (8) The report was misunderstood or misleading; but Marquette never had the opportunity to act upon his thought. Three years later he died.

The first official proposition to carry out this design of Marquette's that I have found was made about twenty-five years later and came from the energetic La Motte Cadillac after his service as commandant at Michillimackinac in 1694-96 in his Report apparently written about the year 1697 or 1698.

"There is also," he writes, "in the range of this nation (the Sioux) a river known in the remote interior for 1000 leagues. It has no rapids and would carry a bark throughout. ———Its source is not yet known. Its course is from the West and it unites with that of the Mississippi which goes to the South sea. (9) My idea is that by this river one could discover the Western sea," and he goes on to explain that the distribution of the watersheds supports this view. The watershed between the Mississippi system and the lake system is so passable at many points that he argues that in all probability it would not be difficult to pass the height of land separating the sources of the Missouri from those of some river emptying into the ocean on the west." (10)

The enterprising founder of Louisiana, Le Moyne d'Iberville, in 1700 outlined a plan for the systematic exploration of the west toward New Mexico and to the sea.

"I will at the same time take the requisite measures for the discovery that is wished, which may be made either by the River Marne (Red?) the Arkansas or by the Missouri if it is thought necessary. My idea is that it will be necessary to go by the Marne to intersect the Missouri if that is believed

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8. *Voyage et Decouverte de Quelques Pays et Nations de L'Amerique Septentrionale par Le P. Marquette et Sr. Joliet.* Paris Reprint (1845) of ed. 1681. p. 30.

9. *Mer du Sud* here evidently means the ocean on the south.

10. Margry, *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais* etc., V. 125.

to be the best and shortest route.......

"After finding the height of land of the rivers flowing down to the sea of the West to find out whether, if one should follow one of them down, it flows into California near the establishments of the Spaniards." (11)

In 1700 the first voyage up the Mississippi undertaken by white men in a European boat was made by Pierre Le Sueur in a felucca, a long, narrow sail boat familiar in the Mediterraean. In 1702 he announced that he had built a new fort only about 60 leagues from the Missouri "and by this means he hopes to explore the Missouri through its entire length and the vast regions in the west of this river. If you consent, sir, to do him the honor to employ him for that purpose he pledges himself if God preserves his life and health two years to give you complete information in regard to all these lands which will give you much pleasure on account of the interest that you take in what regards the good, the honor and the glory of France." (12)

Marquette's design was frustrated by ill health and death, Le Sueur's by the indifference and preoccupations of the crown. Some years later he died in returning across the Atlantic. (13) In 1704 we find Canadians scattered in small bands of seven or eight on the Missouri as well as the Mississippi. It would seem to be too early then for authentic information, for a *voyageur* named Laurain who returned from the Missouri had but a confused account to give of his course, and of the people who lived upon it and of the establishments of the Spaniards on the frontiers of New Mexico. (14) The following year, 1705, two Canadians brought word to Bienville that they had wandered for two years from village to village in the Missouri country. They reported having been almost to the Spanish mines and having reached a village which some Spaniards had just left. (15)

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11. Margry, VI. 178.
12. Margry, VI. 91.
13. Bernard de la Harpe, *Journal Historique de L'Etablissement des Francais a La Louisiane.* Paris. 1831, pp. 70-71.
14. Margry, VI. 181.
15. Margry, VI. 182.

In 1708 Nicolas de la Salle strongly pressed the exploration of the Missouri declaring that it had already been ascended by Canadian *voyageurs* almost 3 to 400 leagues to the northwest and west in the finest country in the world. (16) A year later the Sieur de Mandeville declared that there was good ground to believe that great discoveries might be made on the Missouri. (17)

It is in 1717, however, that we find the first positive intimation of the existence of the great river of the west emptying into the sea on the other side of the continent. One Sieur Hubert in urging the exploration of the Missouri combined the motives of opening trade with the Spaniards and discovering the Western sea. It would be easy, he urged, to oust the Spaniards from the mines but "there is another object which is not less magnificent, it is a great river which is alleged to issue from the same mountain range where the source of the Missouri is. It is believed even that there is a branch of it which empties into the Western sea. This discovery the Canadians who would be taken there would very soon accomplish and by the settlement which would procure the trade with China and Japan the way to it would be short. Those who have gone up this River Missouri assert that it is the true source of the Mississippi which ought properly to be called the Missouri." (18) The Sieur Hubert's account of the fertility of the soil and the healthfulness of the climate, and the beauty of the landscape glistens with the enthusiasm of a later day.

These various suggestions and proposals soon had the effect of inducing the French government to act and an officer of the troops in Canada was selected to make an exploration to the Western sea. As a preliminary investigation of the question seemed prudent, Father Charlevoix, later the eminent historian of New France was despatched to investigate and report upon the practicability of an exploration to reach the sea on the

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16. Margry, VI. 183.
17. Margry, VI, 184.
18. Margry, VI. 189-190.

West. (19) The most satisfactory and exact information that he got was the assurance of many Indians of the Miamis, Illinois, Sioux, Missourites and others that at the height of land at the head of the Mississippi, Missouri and St. Pierre (Minnesota) there were rivers which run to the west. (20) Charlevoix made his report after his return, late in 1722 or early in 1723. "I represented to the Count of Toulouse," he wrote the Count de Morville, the minister and secretary of state, "that I saw only two practicable ways to discover this sea; that the first was to go up the Missouri whose source is certainly not far from the sea according to the testimony of all the Indians, I have seen; the second was to establish a mission among the Sioux, who as they are at war with the Assiniboils, will no doubt get some prisoners from them, and who trade with the Aiouez who are near the Missouri and know its upper waters; missionaries therefore to these Sioux would have through these Indians whose language they will learn in a short time, all the information to be desired. His Royal Highness Monseigneur the Duke of Orleans (the Regent) took up this last plan and we have been notified to appoint two Jesuits for the new mission of the Sioux." (21)

We must believe that here was an instance where excessive prudence deprived France of the glory of another exploration and another explorer to rank equally with Champlain and La Salle and their great achievements in opening up the St. Lawrence and Mississippi regions. In the event of a successful exploration of the Missouri and the River of the West at that time, and that such an exploration would have been successful there is every reason to suppose, American geography would have been advanced three quarters of a century. The only really substantial fruit, however, of Charlevoix's journey was his admirable *Journal Historique* one of the most valuable of early American travels, and perhaps such a determination of his interests as led him to

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19. Margry, VI. 532.
20. Margry, VI. 526.
21. Margry, VI, 534.

devote years of study to his great History of New France, a work of genuine critical scholarship. I will make one or two brief citations from Charlevoix's Travels. The first relates to his first view of the Missouri.

"On the tenth (of October 1721) about nine in the morning, after sailing five leagues on the Mississippi, we arrived at the mouth of the Missouri, which lies northwest and south southeast. Here is the finest confluence of two rivers that, I believe, is to be met with in the whole world, each of them being about half a league in breadth; but the Missouri is the more rapid of the two, and seems to enter the Mississippi like a conqueror carrying its own white waters, without mixing, across its channel quite to the opposite side; the Missouri soon communicates this colour to the Mississippi, which thereafter never loses it, and drags it along hurrying to the sea." (22)

A Missouri Indian woman informed him "that the Missouri rises from very high and bare mountains, behind which there is another river, which probably rises from thence also and runs to the westward." (23)

Earlier in this lecture I remarked that in the history of this western region we trace the genesis of great national policies. One can not indeed follow the history of Louisiana without being compelled equally to follow the history of France and Spain, their alliances and rivalries. Of many illustrations that might be given I shall select one. You will recall that one of the most urgent arguments which Napoleon pressed upon the court of Spain in 1800 to induce the retrocession of Louisiana to France was that once in the possession of France Louisiana would be a barrier to the westward expansion of the United States which was so menacing to the possessions of Spain. "The Court of Spain," the message ran, "will do then, at once a wise and great act if it calls the French to the defense of its colonies by ceding Louisiana to them, and by replacing in their hands

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22. Charlevoix, *Journal Historique d'un Voyage dan l' Amerique Septentrionale.* Paris 1744, p. 392. *Journal of a voyage to North America*, London, 1751, II. 218.

23 *Journal of a voyage*, etc., II. 224.

this outpost of its richest possessions in the New World." (24) Two years earlier the famous Talleyrand presented the same argument in behalf of France even more emphatically: "Let the Court of Madrid cede these districts to France, and from that moment the power of America is bounded by the limit which it may suit the interests and the tranquility of France and Spain to assign her. The French Republic, mistress of these two provinces (The Floridas and Louisiana) will be a wall of brass forever impenetrable to the combined efforts of England and America." (25)

This argument so specious and so ominous for the future of the west one would naturally suppose to have been the plausible creation of the ingenious Talleyrand, yet it was elaborated a century earlier by the founder of Louisiana, Le Moyne d'Iberville, in a *memoire* not dated but apparently of the year 1701, in which he gave a remarkable prognostication of the westward movement.

"If one", he writes, "will give some slight attention to the country occupied by the English on this continent and what they plan to occupy and to the resources they have in these colonies where there are neither priest or nuns, and where every one propagates, and to what they will become in thirty or forty years, one can feel no doubt that they will occupy all the space between them and the Mississippi which is one of the finest countries in the world. They will then be in shape with the help of the Indians to raise sufficient forces by land and by sea to gain the mastery of all America, or at least of the greatest part of Mexico which is not being populated at the rate of the English colonies, which will be in condition to put in the field armies of thirty and forty thousand men." ...."Although the country at present occupied by the English is not considerable this is no reason for preventing France from saving the French

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24. Note of the ambassador of the Republic, Aug. 3, 1800, cited from the French Archives in Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, I. 366.

25. Instructions to Citizen Guillemardet, Minister to Spain. May-June, 1789, cited in Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, I, 357.

and Spanish Colonies in America at an early date from complete ruin by promptly establishing a good colony around the mouth of the Mississippi, occupying Mobile, and withstanding the progress of the English in these regions among the tribes of Indians. ......

"It appears absolutely necessary", he continues a little later, "to plant a colony on the Mississippi, on Mobile River, to form relations with the Indians who are numerous there both in villages and in separate tribes and to arm them to sustain themselves against those the English have on their side and push the English back over the mountains." (26) Here we see the farsighted Le Moyne anticipating the whole westward growth of the English nearly half a century before the French government took very active measures to forestall it, and anticipating the arguments of Talleyrand to the Spaniards by nearly a century.

This memoir of Le Moyne d'Iberville's contains another interesting item which I do not recall seeing mentioned in any history of the English westward movement. I will give the whole passage.

"From the 30th parallel of north latitude to the 37th the countries of Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania are separated from the lands of Florida [used in the Spanish sense] by a chain of mountains ten, fifteen or twenty leagues from the sea. This chain of mountains is very high and five, six and ten leagues broad and at its foot the rivers take their rise. The space between these mountains and the ocean is in many places wholly occupied by settlers whose children will be obliged to cross these mountains to find a home which many have already done in different places, joining various tribes of Indians like the Quasquens, Chaouanons, Wolves, which are established on one of the branches of the river Ouabache, the other branch being only a day's journey from the Sonnontonans, their allies. It is by the Quasquen branch that a number of English from Carolina in Virginia came down who have

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26. Margry, IV. 545-46 and 548.

gone to settle among the Acansas or Cappa, which is a tribe to the west on the border of the Mississippi." (27) This is so far as I know the earliest authentic record of an attempted English settlement on the Mississippi. It may be of course that Le Moyne was misinformed, but it does not seem likely. He adds: "They are moving forward into this part of Florida already very close to the Mississippi compelling different tribes to recognize them. They have not as yet been further north than 37 degrees (Southern Kentucky) or further south than thirty-three (Middle Alabama). Some, however, have gone to the sea by the Mobile river." (28)

I have touched upon the romantic interest attaching to the earliest description by men of our own kind of the wonders of nature in this new world and particularly in the great southwest and dwelt at some length upon the genesis of the great exploration whose completion a century ago marked an epoch in the development of our country. I had planned also to develop the beginnings in the early French days of that southwestern commerce which became in the nineteenth century so important a tributary to the wealth of Missouri, but my time is limited and I relinquish this interesting theme with the less regret because it would not be practicable in the space at my disposal to add anything to the material in Parkman's *Half Century of Conflict* or Dr. Thwaites' chapter in his recent *France in America* (29)

I will then pass to a phase of the history of the old Missouri country in which it stands by itself. I refer to it as almost a chosen scene for imaginary travels. You are all familiar no doubt with the story of La Hontan's fictitious exploration in 1688 of the Long River with its strange tribes of Mozeemleks and Eokoros and the Tahuglauk which no other travelers were subsequently privileged to find. (30) The Long River occupies

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27. Margry, IV. 544.
28. Ibid. 545.
29. Parkman, *Half Century of Conflict*, II. 9-23. Thwaites, *France in America*, 82-84.
30. La Hontan's *New Voyages to North America*. Thwaites' Ed. I. 179-203.

almost the position of the St. Peter's or Minnesota, but the exploration of the St. Peter's by Le Sueur soon threw discredit on La Hontan's discovery. Less attention, in fact hardly any at all has been drawn to La Hontan's claim to have sailed up the Missouri in the spring of 1689 which if genuine would make him its first white voyager and explorer. Allow me to quote this earliest romance of the great river.

"But considering that I was straitened for time, and that I saw no probability of learning what I wanted to know with reference to the Spaniards, I took leave of 'em the next day, which was the 13th, and in four days' time, by the help of the current and our oars, made the River of the Missouri. This done, we run up against the Stream of that River, which was at least as rapid as the Mississippi was at that time; and arriv'd on the 18th at the first Village of the Missouri, where I only stop'd to make the People some Presents that procur'd me a hundred Turkeys, with which that People are wonderfully well stock'd. After that, we row'd hard against the Stream, and landed next night near the second Village."

"To be short, we re-embark'd that same day, about two a clock in the Afternoon, and row'd about four Leagues up the River, where we made the River of (132) the Osages, and encamp'd by its Mouth."

He got into a clash with the Indians and set fire to their village: "This done we pursued our course down that rapid river, and entered the River Mississippi on the 25th early in the morning." (31) This exploration Dr. Thwaites in his notes to his recent edition of La Hontan does not remark upon, nor do I find any reference to it in Edmond Roy's extensive monograph on La Hontan. (32) That it is as fictitious as the voyage up the Long River would seem to be indicated by the fact that not one of the early eighteenth century explorers of the river mentions La Hontan's voyage. Again the voyage is said to have taken place on the 17th of March and the following days, in other words, in the spring high water. In two days

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31. La Hontan's *New Voyages*, I. 200-203.

32. *Proceedings and Transactions*, Royal Society of Canada, 1894, sect. 1.

and a half he goes up stream to the Osage river nearly 150 miles. But the half day's journey was only 4 leagues leaving 135 miles to be covered in two days. Nothing is said of the insurmountable difficulties of paddling up the Missouri in high water only that the stream "is at least as rapid as the Mississippi." Compare this with the account of Penicaut who accompanied Le Sueur in 1700. "We found on the left the mouth of a very great river, named the Missoury. This river is frightfully swift, especially in the springtime when it is high, for in passing over the islands when it overflows it uproots and carries off the trees......The Indians who live on the banks of the Missouri go up or down it in August when the water is low and at Christmas on the ice when they go to the mines." (33) One is forced to believe that La Hontan's voyage up the Missouri was a map journey.

Some of you no doubt are familiar with the narrative of Mathieu Sagean who related a story of observations and adventures following La Salle's exploration of the Mississippi which is more like the stories of Sinbad the sailor than anything else in our exploration literature unless it be the story told by Davy Ingram who in after years later told of his wanderings on foot from Mexico to New Brunswick in 1568 and the following years. (34)

It was one of Charlevoix's tasks to report on the Sagean fable. Then again we have the story of the Yazoo Indian Moncacht-Ape of his journey to the Pacific ocean which we owe to Le Page du Pratz, which while not palpably fictitious I am inclined to believe is in the main an imaginary sketch. If true Moncacht-Ape would deserve to have his name honored as a genuine precursor of Lewis and Clark or Mackenzie. (35)

In this somewhat rambling paper I have touched upon several phases of the history of the old Missouri territory enlarging upon its variety of interest, its romantic elements, and

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33. Margry, V. 409.

34 On Mathieu Sageau, Margry, VI. 93-173. Davy Ingram's narrative printed in *Magazine of American History*, IX. 200-08.

35 On the Moncacht-Ape story see A. McF. Davis, *American Antiquarian Society*, New series, Vol. II. 1882-83, 321-348.

reviewing the earliest proposals of Northwestern exploration to the Pacific, and Le Moyne d'Iberville's remarkeble forecast of English expansion and likewise his anticipation of Talleyrand's brilliant argument to Spain, and finally I have called attention to the singular fortune of this region in being selected as the scene of imaginary voyages thus transforming its plains and mountains bodily into favored realms of romance.

EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.

THOMAS HART BENTON. (1)

Character sketches can accomplish little or no good except as they mark and illustrate the historical events of the period in which the subject lived.

I have selected the name of one of the first United States Senators of Missouri as the subject of this paper.

In making this choice I have not been prompted either by any personal predilections or partisan feeling. According to my understanding of his character he was a great man, and justice to his memory as well as a true history of the times in which he lived demand a true and impartial history of his life and public services.

I am not aware that the term "great man" has ever been defined. Emerson says: "I count that man great who inhabits a higher sphere of thought into which other men enter with labor and difficulty." I accept this definition and applying it to the subject of this sketch, I must say emphatically that Colonel Benton was a great man.

Of his early life it is sufficient to say that he was born in the state of South Carolina on the 14th day of March, 1782. That his father, a lawyer of some local prominence, died during the minority of the subject of this sketch, possessed of about forty thousand acres of land in the state of Tennessee, and that the widow in a short time afterwards removed to the latter state, taking her entire family with her.

Just when he studied law or commenced the practice of his profession I do not know. In 1846, after he had taken his "appeal to the people" from the instructions contained in what was known as the "Jackson Resolutions," he was in the town of Bowling Green, Pike County, for the purpose of making one of his characteristic speeches of that campaign. I was present

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1. A paper read before the State Historical Society of Missouri at its fourth annual meeting, December 10, 1904.

as he entered the Court House and met an old gentleman who reminded him that he had met him in Tennessee and was a member of the jury in Benton's first case after he commenced practicing law. The suit involved the title to some personal property, the chief item being a lot of pumpkins. Benton said he remembered it well, shaking the old man's hand most cordially he said:"I was right then, wasn't I?" "Yes," the old line Whig said, "but I'll be d—— if you haven't been wrong ever since." With a look of intense disgust he turned upon his heel exclaiming in his own emphatic way, "the h—ll you say!"

Benton's Military Record.

Of his life in Tennessee very little seems to be known.

In the early part of the war of 1812 this was also true. It is said that for a time he acted as aid-de-camp to General Jackson and subsequently went to work to organize a regiment of volunteers for Jackson's army, but this was not completed before the battle of New Orleans, and his troops were disbanded. Soon after this he was made a lieutenant-colonel in the regular service, but he only retained his office a short time. He resigned and then returned to the state of Tennessee.

In referring to his military record, I am reminded of what was said to me by a gentleman of intelligence and observation. This gentleman saw much of the enlisting and mustering in of the troops that were gathered in by General Jackson for the defense of New Orleans. He saw Benton in a colonel's uniform and mounted upon an elegant horse.

In describing his dress and general appearance he said to me, "he was the finest looking man on the continent."

Benton saw at once that at the conclusion of the war with England and the title of the French to the valleys of the two great rivers, the Missouri and the Mississippi, the most fertile and extensive country on the globe would be thrown open for settlement and cultivation. There was an anxious and enterprising populace extending from the Carolinas to New England watching eagerly for the moment to arrive when they could give up their homes in the east and find more fertile lands and larger possessions in the Great West.

Benton saw all this and judged correctly that St. Louis was to be the commercial center of this vast region, and he determined to give up his position in the army, abandon his home in Tennessee and locate permanently at this great central point.

He came to St. Louis ostensibly for the purpose of practicing law, but it is more than likely that he then had a thirst for political life and that he was prompted largely by the desire for political preferment and the honors of official position.

He must have come to St. Louis in the summer or fall of 1815. He there established a law office and became interested in a newspaper, the Missouri Inquirer, a journal that occasioned for him a number of duels, in one of which he killed his opponent, Lucas. He was a genuine American in sentiment and feeling and most profoundly impressed with the great importance of the future trade and commerce of the west and its ultimate influence and control in the policies of the Government. He was a strong supporter of western interest.

Benton and the Missouri Compromise.

Two of the great political questions that had been agitated from the beginning of the Government's existence were settled by the Congressional enactments of 1816. The surveys of the public domain in the then Territory of Missouri had been so far completed that it was determined to put up these lands at public auction, as required by the laws of Congress.

Benton advocated the pre-emption of the public lands. He saw the intense interest manifested by the crowds in attendance upon that sale, and the speedy increase in the settlement and development of the territory, and he at once agitated the question of commencing the work of forming a state government. He was active in having the Territorial Legislature to take the first step in that direction by memorializing congress to pass an enabling act authorizing the holding of a convention to form a constitution upon which Missouri could ask for admission into the Union. The memorial was presented at the session of

1819-20, and the first great war of opinion on the subject of slavery was precipitated upon the country. It was so fierce and so bitter in its character as to threaten a dissolution of the Union as it then existed. Fortunately it resulted in what has been known ever since as "the Missouri Compromise."

Briefly, the terms upon which the people of the territory might apply for admission as a state, were, that it should come into the Union as a slave state, but as to all of the remainder of the territory belonging to the United States "slavery or involuntary servitude should be forever prohibited north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude." Benton advocated the admission of Missouri as a slave state. Upon this compromise the people of the territory elected delegates to a constitutional convention in the month of June following. The convention met in July 1820, and formed a constitution recognizing the existence of slaves as property, and containing a provision which required the Legislative Assembly, when assembled, to pass a law prohibiting free persons of color from entering into and becoming residents of the state. An election for state officers and members of the legislature was held in the month of August following. The legislature met in the month of November, 1820, and David Barton and Thomas H. Benton were elected to the United States Senate.

Benton and Other Public Questions.

It has been commonly said that Col. Benton was opposed to slavery in the abstract. I have no sufficient evidence of that fact in his own declaration or in the political history of the country to prove it. In this connection it should be said to the credit of Col. Benton and for the purpose of fixing his status upon the slave question, that he was an active participant in the work of procuring the act of congress authorizing the voters of the Missouri Territory to form a constitution recognizing the existence of slavery, that the members of the constitutional convention from St. Louis county were unanimously in favor of making Missouri a slave-state. The provision prohibiting free persons of color from other states from entering or remaining in this state was his own work, written with his own hand.

This seems to me to be quite sufficient to disprove the above statement.

The members elected to the Legislature in August, 1820, at least a majority of them, were decidedly in favor of slavery, and they elected Benton to the Senate of the United States at a time when the existence of slavery was the all-absorbing and controlling question in every election. This it seems to me ought to settle the question beyond a reasonable doubt, that Benton was not at heart an anti-slavery man at that time.

No subsequent event in his political career since that time can be shown to prove that he had changed his position on that subject. And the satement I think stands unproved.

On March 4th, 1821, when Benton became a member of the United States Senate, three of the most important questions that had agitated the people and the halls of legislation in the country had been settled. These were (1) the charter of the United States Bank, (2) a protective tariff and (3) slavery.

The question of the power of Congress to charter such an institution as the bank had been bitterly contested by the strict constructionists of the constitution, from the beginning of its existence in 1791. It was always admitted that there was no direct or especial grant of power to Congress to charter such an institution, but that its existence depended entirely upon an implied power under the word **necessary.** The charter of 1791 expired in 1811. It was chartered in 1816 to run for another period of twenty years. It rested again entirely upon the implied power under the word **necessary** in the Constitution.

The financial condition of the country at the end of the war of 1812 being such as in the opinion of many of the strict constructionists to justify their votes in its favor. The bank, however, did not meet the expectations of its friends in the regulating and preserving the monetary affairs of the country so as to prevent the terrible state of things which existed in 1819—20 and for some time afterwards.

Benton's Defense of Clay.

Missouri was finally admitted into the Union as a state a few hours before the commencement of James Monroe's second term, March 4th, 1821, as President. The eight years (from

March 4th, 1817, to March 4th, 1825) in which he filled that office has generally been designated in the political history of the country as "an era of peace and good-will." The line of division between political parties at that time, so as to fix definitely the status of many of the prominent men in public life was not very clearly drawn.

The general divisions of the parties up to that time had simply been between Federalists and Republicans. It seems a little strange to partisans of the present day to note the fact, that John Quincy Adams, the recognized leader of the Federal party of the North, should have been selected by President Monroe, an avowed states right Democrat of the South, as his chief cabinet officer—Secretary of State. This selection of Mr. Adams, however, is not so difficult to account for as the appointment of Henry Clay to the same office by Mr. Adams after he became President in 1825.

I mention this fact for the purpose of calling attention to an act of Col. Benton for which he has scarcely received the credit to which he was entitled.

At the presidential election of 1824, it will be remembered there were four candidates—John Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford, the nominee of a congressional caucus, Gen. Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay. Neither one having received a majority at the polls the election was thrown into the House of Representatives and resulted in the choice of Mr. Adams. Henry Clay was then a member of the House, and, against the public expectation, cast his vote for Adams. The appointment of the distinguished Kentuckian to the office of Secretary of State gave rise to the suspicion and afterwards to the open charge of "bargain and corruption," which for a time greatly agitated the people of the whole country, to the great injury of both the President and his Secretary of State. Col. Benton very promptly exonerated Mr. Clay from the slander of his enemies by making the statement that he (Clay) had told him in private conversation long before the election that he intended to vote for Adams. The circumstances were such as to place Mr. Clay in a very awkward position. His personal and political enemies were hard to convince of his innocence and it was a noble act and a very gracious thing for a political opponent to do. Col. Benton and Mr. Clay were connected by marriage, the former being a blood-relation of the latter's wife.. It was said—but upon what authority I know not—that being of the same political creed up to the election of 1824, Benton had favored the election of Mr. Clay to the Presidency. In Col. Benton's own language, they had been very intimate up to that time and it was during that intimacy and previous to the election by the House of Representatives that Mr. Clay had confidentially said to Benton that he intended to cast his vote for Mr. Adams. The testimony of Col. Benton was of double value by reason of the fact that his own party was exceedingly anxious to establish the truth of the statement made by Mr. George Kremer, a member of Congress from Pennslyvania, that the appointment of Mr. Clay as Secretary of State was the result of a corrupt bargain between him and the President. A verbal report of the speech of John Randolph, of Virginia, made in the Senate of the United States during the discussion of the Panama Mission represented him as saying that a certain letter sent to the Senate by the President "bore the ear-marks" of having been manufactured or forged by the Secretary of State (Clay) and denounced the administration as "a corrupt coalition between the blackleg and the Puritan." Whether the report was true or false, it would have been accepted as a genuine utterance of that erratic statesman.

The result was that Clay challenged him to mortal combat and a dual actually took place between these distinguished men, during the first week in April, 1826, near the city of Washington. Col. Benton was the only disinterested witness, and, after the exchange of two harmless shots, he with some other members of the party, secured a meeting of the two principals at which mutual explanations were made, the difficulty satisfactorily adjusted and friendly greeting exchanged. From this point Clay and Benton drifted farther and farther apart until a state of violent antagonism was reached. This continued for many years and up to a short time before Mr. Clay's death in 1852.

Benton on Nullification.

I pass on to the very celebrated debate in the Senate between Hayne, of South Carolina, and Daniel Webster upon the resolution of Senator Foote, of Connecticut, in reference to the appointment of a committee to inquire into the expediency of discontinuing the survey and sale of the public lands and to abolish the office of Surveyor General. The debate took a wide range, taking in the relative powers of the State and Federal government, in which the doctrine of nullification by a state against a law of Congress was first asserted as one of the remedies to which it might result in its extremnity. Col. Benton seems not to have taken this as at all serious, said, "he did not believe in anything practical from nullification, did not believe that there would be forcible resistance to the laws of the United States from South Carolina, did not believe in any scheme for disunion." He said he "believed in the patriotism of Mr. Hayne and as he came into the argument on my side in the matter of the public lands so my wishes were with him and I helped him when I could. Of this desire to help and disbelief in unionism, I gave proof in ridiculing as well as I could Mr. Webster's fine peroration to liberty and union and really thought it out of place, a fine piece of rhetoric misplaced for want of circumstances to justify it."

Posterity will hardly give Col. Benton credit for perfect candor in making this statement. It was always his boast that he was a Democrat of the Jeffersonian school. The fundamental creed of that school was a belief in the doctrine of "State rights" as interpreted by him in the celebrated Resolutions of 1798. It was upon South Carolina's interpretation of these Resolutions that the doctrine of nullification was based. In every step taken by that state in its determination to resist the execution of the provisions of the Tariff Law of 1828, they were guided by the principles of and policy contained in those Resolutions according to the interpretation of the Southern Democrats and the correctness of that interpretation can hardly be questioned today. When the point was reached at which Andrew Jackson felt called upon to issue the celebrated proclamation to the people of that state, giving his interpretation of the Constitution and defining the relative power of the Federal and state governments he enunciated principles and views entirely different from those embodied in these Resolutions. Benton endorsed this proclamation and really became Jackson's chief lieutenant and champion during the whole of the fierce war that was made against his administration by Mr. Calhoun and his followers.

I am aware that Col. Benton claimed at the time that he had given a new interpretation to these Resolutions, but he did not point out in what essential particular it differed from the true interpretation, and the fact would seem to be that that interpretation continued to be maintained by the Southern Democracy down to 1861. The truth must be admitted that the principles enunciated by General Jackson became the creed of a new type of that party which continued to control the affairs of the government down to the end of Van Buren's term in 1841. Calhoun and his followers deserted the Democratic party, formed an alliance with Henry Clay and the Whig party and through the last term of Jackson and the four years of Van Buren assisted in overthrowing the Jacksonian Democracy. There never was a more exciting and enthusiastic political canvas than that of 1840, when Wm. Henry Harrison, the candidate of the Whig party, defeated Mr. Van Buren—the pet of General Jackson—for the Presidency.

There was a singular combination of political elements that secured the final overthrow and defeat of the Jackson Democracy. Col. Benton did not go down at that time with the wing of the party to which he really belonged. Nominally he was classed with the organization as it was then constituted.

Benton and the Bank Agitation.

He was re-elected to the Senate in 1844 for another term of six years, but the "handwriting on the wall" was already beginning to appear. Those who then began to take charge of the party machinery had no use for Benton, nor any other Jackson Democrat. Nobody doubted the fact that Benton had been truly loyal to the party and Jackson's chief lieutenant from the day of his first inauguration down to the end of his successor's term of office, (1828-1840).

In his first annual message to Congress in 1829 President Jackson declared his hostility to the rechartering of the Bank of the United States. The charter granted in 1816 did not expire until 1836. Jackson anticipated that the friends of the Bank would not wait until near the end of the limit of the time of its existence before an application would be made for its renewal. He knew that the Bank was powerful and would use every means that it could control to perpetuate its existence. The voters of the country had to be aroused and prepared for the contest when it should come. From the moment that his hostility to the Bank was made known until the last day of its existence Benton was recognized as the leader of the anti-Bank forces in Congress, and the chief spokesman of the President. He bore the brunt of the fierce attacks made by such men as Clay, Webster, and a host of other distinguished advocates of the Bank and who continued to fight without loss of courage until the bill was passed in June, 1832. General Jackson was supposed to be in great peril. He was a candidate for re-election in November following. Neither he nor his lieutenant were intimidated by the situation. The bill was promptly vetoed. The great battle in the halls of Congress to pass it over the veto was fought to a final defeat and Jackson was triumphantly elected in the month of November following.

I pass over the period which followed and begin with the effort to recharter the Bank during the administration of John Tyler. Elected as vice president on the ticket of General Harrison, he proved to be a great disappointment to the party. A brief reference to the condition of affairs and the organization of parties after the death of nullification is necessary in order to explain what followed so far as Col. Benton's subsequent career was concerned.

Benton on Party Control.

John C. Calhoun and his adherents, among whom was Mr. Tyler, openly allied themselves with Henry Clay and the Whig party. These men never intended this alliance to be anything more than a temporary one to defeat General Jackson and ultimately to destroy his successor, Martin Van Buren. To accomplish that it had to be maintained until an opportunity should occur to put the Southern Democracy in control of the government. That meant the ultimate destruction of Col. Benton, Silas Wright, of New York, and all men of that class. This purpose was greatly aided by the agitation of the slavery question by the North, which was commenced before the end of Jackson's second term. Congress was flooded with petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. This greatly irritated the South and ultimately led to the formation of a design on the part of the Southern politicians to extend the area of slavery ostensibly for the purpose of preserving the balance of power between the free and the slave states. They honestly believed that the movement meant an ultimate attack against the institution of slavery in the states and the ultimate destruction on the continent.

The States-right element in the Whig party secured the nomination of Mr. Tyler. The old Bank failed in its application for renewal of its charter and its final death occurred in 1836, upon the expiration of the charter of 1816. The Jackson Democracy of course was jubilant, Benton imagined that it had a permanent lease of power. After the death of the Bank there was a money crisis and a condition of affairs in the business world that baffled all description.

This condition lasted until after the election of 1840 and was the cause of the overwhelming defeat of the Democrat party. A Whig President and Vice President, were chosen with a decided Whig majority in both houses of Congress. An extra session was speedily called and a Bank bill satisfactory to the majority was speedily passed and the country was hopeful of a speedy return to an era of prosperity and happiness.

To the utter amazement of the Whigs, both in Congress and the country, the bill was vetoed and the betrayal of the Whig party was complete.

A new cabinet with John C. Calhoun as Secretary of State demonstrated to the country that a new power was in control of the country. The truth is that the Whig party was dead never to be resurrected, and the Jacksonian Democracy had been misplaced and superceded by an element that would thereafter rule the country. In order to secure this position the old lieutenants and henchmen of Andrew Jackson were sent to the rear and a new arrangement made of all the party forces.

The party caucus and convention was declared to be the supreme power in all directions. Benton fought against this with all his might, but to no purpose. He denounced it as "a tyranny that completely destroyed the right of private judgment and left the individual member of the party at the mercy of men, tricksters and managers of the machine." As a necessary means to secure the vote of the united party, a candidate was nominated and elected to the Presidency in 1844 who was acceptable to General Jackson. Mr. Van Buren with a majority of votes in the convention was unceremoniously set aside and James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was put in his place. In the election of 1844 the chief issue was the annexation of Texas. Mr. Clay, the Whig candidate, had declared himself as opposed to it, while Mr. Polk and the entire Democratic party, with some few exceptions in the north and east, were enthusiastic in its favor. Clay was misunderstood and defeated, while the Democratic party with the connivance of President Tyler and his cabinet hastily consummated the act of annexation in the very last hours of Tyler's administration. The result of that annexation, as everybody knows, was the war with Mexico in 1846.

Benton and the Annexation of Texas.

By the course of events in the annexation of Texas, Col. Benton was placed in a false position and from which he was never able to extricate himself. He believed that that territory ought as a matter of right to belong to the United States. His firm conviction at all times was that it had been unnecessarily relinquished to Spain by the treaty made with that country in 1819. It was afterwards secured by Mexico by its revolt from

Spain and the United States had lost its title to it and could only recover it by legitimate, peaceful means.

At the time of the passage of the act annexing that territory, there was an actual war pending between Mexico and inhabitants of the territory who were in rebellion against the authority of Mexico. Of course the act of annexation amounted to an assumption of the war by our own government and a pledge to prosecute it for the benefit of the rebels. Benton believed that it would have been an easy matter to have secured it by treaty and purchase and that it would have been cheaper and better in all respects to have pursued such a policy. He was unquestionably right and posterity will so decide.

It will serve no good purpose now to discuss the question as to who was responsible for the war with Mexico. My only object now is to place Col. Benton in a proper position and to relieve him from the charge of being false to the wishes and best interests of his constituents and of the South generally. He never objected to the making of that country slave territory if they so desired. The entire country was south of 36 degrees and 30 minutes and if it had been a part of the territory of the United States at the time of the admission of Missouri it would have been covered by the Missouri Compromise and would have been properly slave territory, if the people of that territory so desired. He was simply opposed to the acquisition of any territory for the avowed purpose of the existence of slavery.

Benton's Slavery Attitude.

It is proper here to state what I believe to have been the true position of Col. Benton on the question of slavery. From the time he entered the Senate as representative of Missouri he recognized the fact that he was there simply by virtue of the provisions of the act by which his state became a member of the Union, and that this law of Congress was intended to be a full and complete settlement of the question of slavery as to all territory then held by the government, or, this act of Congress he considered to be as sacred and as binding as the Constitution itself and to be faithfully kept and observed for all time.

He believed that the ordinance of 1787 was intended to be a final settlement of the question, and the only reason why Missouri should have been exempt from its provisions was that slaves were actually held in Missouri and was authorized and permitted it to exist by the choice of the people themselves at the time of asking admission into the Union. This position may not have been correct yet it was his political creed and all of his official acts in regard to the institution of slavery were controlled by this opinion.

He was identified with the slave-party when Missouri asked admission into the Union and his position was always that the people of the soverign state, or those who owned slave property, had a right to decide that question for themselves. He always opposed any act of the government that looked like an interference with that institution as it actually existed in the states. He held these views to the end of his career.

In all the violent opposition and abuse that he encountered during the years '49 and '50, he simply appealed to his record in the senate, just as if that was "known and read of all men." Every effort that was made to interrogate him upon the stump he regarded as a personal insult. "Why should a respectable woman of known reputation and character be insulted with an inquiry as to the rectitude of her conduct and the purity of her life?" Such a question, he argued, would not be permitted or tolerated in any community. And so with his position in regard to slavery in the states and in the territories as well.

During his whole public career he had opposed the organization of any party upon one idea. Parties were the natural and legitimate products of the different theories and policies of government, according to the different interpretations of the Federal Constitution. He always opposed the agitation of the slavery question, because it was sectional in its character, disturbing the peace of the country, and injuriously affecting the interests of the people who alone had the right to decide as their judgment and conscience directed them. But all this was of no avail. Men's prejudices were excited, their passions inflamed and a spirit of hate and intolerance dominated the masses of the people and the fate of the old senator was sealed by the result of the election of 1850.

Benton and the British Boundary.

In all the troubles and disappointments connected with the last few years of his senatorial career he had at least one great triumph to boast of. That was in the settlement of the question of boundary between the United States and the British possessions. When the question of terminating the joint occupation by England and the United States of the territory of Oregon and fixing definitely the boundary line that separated Canada from our own domain was finally presented to Congress, an erronous impression prevailed in that body, as well as among the masses of the people, in regard to it. A majority of the lower House of Congress and many men outside of that body, including the distinguished senator from Kentucky, Henry Clay, went to the extreme of claiming the entire territory up to fifty-four degrees and forty minutes.

The motto of this party being "fifty-four—forty, or fight." That was almost the universal cry both in congress and among the masses, until the country had almost reached the point of an open rupture with England. The bill finally reached the Senate where it was discussed with great warmth and ability. Benton waited until the extremists had exhausted the subject on their side of it.

When it was announced that Benton would speak and that his views would be against the popular opinion upon the subject, the senate chamber was packed to the utmost of its capacity. The House adjourned and almost the entire body crowded into the senate chamber to swell the immense audience. The speech was the supreme effort of his life. It amounted to an absolute demonstration of the fact that the United States did not have title to an inch of land, north of the 49th parallel of latitude. When Benton's speech was concluded the question was settled, and the settlement was for all time to come.

Judge W. V. N. Bay, of Missouri, who was present on the occasion gave me an interesting account of the whole scene. As quick as he could get through the crowd he started down

Pennsylvania avenue for the purpose of overtaking Col. Benton, who, he learned had gone out ahead of him. He soon saw the stalwart form of the old Senator making his way to his home, "solitary and alone" according to his favorite expression—the crowd giving was as he approached. Hurrying on he soon overtook him. Taking him by the arm and greeting him most cordially, Benton turned towards him and grasping his hand said to him, "You ought to have been in the senate chamber this afternoon and heard my great speech on the Oregon bill." He replied, "I was there, Colonel, and heard every word of it." With a triumphant look and a tone of exultation he exclaimed: "Didn't I give Clay h—ll?"

The End of Benton.

But enough. He was defeated in the contest for re-election to the senate. Unwilling to retire to private life, he became a candidate in St. Louis for a seat in the lower house of congress, and was elected. His career in that body added nothing to his fame, and he came back to Missouri determined to make another appeal to the people of the state for an endorsement of his political opinions and his distinguished services in the senate for a period of time, which he delighted to call his "Six Roman Lustrums."

But his race was run. He realized now that his career was ended. He spent the short remnant of his life in preparing for publication his famous and valuable political history, which he was pleased to call "Benton's Thirty Years View."

Benton's was a noble personage. His was a stalwart frame, above the ordinary height and with a physical constitution well preserved by a life of prudent, temperate habits, he had the proud dignified appearance of the Roman Senator. This was the model which during his entire public life he kept steadily in view and sought to emulate. He died in Washington City on the 10th of April, 1858, being a little more than seventy-six years of age. He might have left as his epitaph, the well known words of Horace: "**Exegi monumentum aere perennius.**" (I have erected a monument more enduring than brass.)

THOS. J. C. FAGG.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN MISSOURI. (1)

The time allotted to this paper will not permit any attention to be given to either the Indians who roamed over Missouri for an unknown length of time or to the earliest voyages of discovery and explorations conducted by the French throughout the Mississippi valley. These subjects are nevertheless vitally connected with that of the early settlements in Missouri. The location of the earliest settlements depended very largely upon the route of the earliest voyages and explorations, this growth and spread depended, in part, at least, upon the attitude and the strength of the Indians among whom the settlements were made. If nothing else were said this brief statement shows how very essential to a proper conception of the subject in hand is a knowledge of the early explorations and of the Indians. But as we are more or less acquainted with these subjects from our general study of the United States, it will be well to comply with the limits of the time allotted and pass at once to the consideration of the subject itself.

It will not be possible to deal with many separate settlements in any detail, nor would it be desirable here. It will be attempted, however, to present the motives which brought men in early times into what is now Missouri and to study the growth and spread of these settlements. In this manner the settlements of the French will be considered first, then those by the Americans will be taken up and followed until about 1830. That date will be a good stopping point, for, as we shall see, a large portion of the state had been fairly well occupied by that time, and that movement had already begun which completed in a very short time the occupation of the entire state.

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1. A paper read before the State Historical Society of Missouri at its first annual meeting, December, 5, 1901.

Before considering the earliest settlements in Missouri, something should be said concerning those in what is now Illinois. Shortly after the expeditions of Marquette and La Salle, a number of settlements were establishd in Illinois chiefly along the Mississippi and its tributaries. Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Fort Charters were old places sometime before there was more than one permanent settlement in Missouri. The earliest pioneers in Illinois were chiefly from Canada. They were, as a rule, hunters, giving themselves to living in the woods, and to trafficing in furs, though they did a little farming here and there. Flint in his Geography of the Mississippi Valley points out the striking contrast between the earliest settlers of Upper Louisiana and those of Lower Louisiana, the former having come, as we have just seen from Canada, the latter chiefly direct from France, many being of noble descent. (Flint Geography, pp. 160-1.)

It is important to make these observations concerning the Illinois settlements, for with the exception of a few who came from Canada, all the earliest permanent pioneers in what is now Missouri, were as far as could be ascertained, from these Canadian-French settlements in Illinois, especially from those settlements along the east bank of the Mississippi. Even those who came direct from Canada came by the way of these Illinois settlements. The movement into what is now Missouri is really then a continuation of that movement begun by the Canadian French into the Illinois country. A number of towns along the west bank of the Mississippi were founded by people who immigrated from towns almost directly opposite on the eastern bank. Ste. Genevieve is one of the most striking examples of this fact, having been settled by the people from Kaskaskia just across the river.

Up to 1763 but one permanent settlement had been formed, and that was Ste. Genevieve. But prior to 1763 numerous temporary settlements had been formed. During the early part of the eighteenth century three classes of men came into Missouri, and by these sometimes temporary settlements were made.

The first of these classes was made up of mining adventurers. The earliest movement into what is now Missouri was prompted by the hope of finding great and immediate riches in mines. Scarcely had the Mississippi been explored by La Salle and a settlement been established at its mouth when the authorities at Paris, and later those at New Orleans, fitted out exploring expeditions to open up mines in Upper Louisiana. In the search for minerals in Missouri, the people from the Illinois settlements joined the explorers from France and New Orleans. Instead of finding gold or silver or copper as was expected, these adventurers found lead, but for a long time the results of lead mining were unprofitable, owing to the ignorance of the proper methods of mining and smelting. The upper course of the Meramec was the scene of most of the early lead mining.

The second class of men who came into Missouri in the early part of the eighteenth century, was made up of hunters and fur traders, chiefly from the Illinois country. They made their camps here and there along the Missouri and its tributaries. and carried on a rather extensive traffic with the Indians.

The third class was made up of the soldiers who were sent out by the French government to garrison the country. So far as I have been able to investigate this matter from the English sources, only one French garrison was established in Missouri prior to 1763. In 1721 the French prepared to meet the expedition sent out by the Spanish for the purpose of taking up a position on the Missouri so as to check the movement of the French further to the West. As a result a post was erected above the mouth of Grand river and called Fort Orleans, and a garrison stationed there.

Notwithstanding the fact that these three classes of men came into Missouri and penetrated far into the interior in the early part of the eighteenth century, but one permanent settlement, Ste. Genevieve, was established by 1762. Just when it was established is not positively known, but evidence shows it was an old town by 1762. What class or classes of the three just mentioned, formed Ste. Genevieve is not known, but is likely it was established by the mining class, as the town was a place of deposit and trade for the miners to the west from earliest times.

There are a number of reasons why no other permanent settlements were established by these men. The following are obvious. The mining region was rough and uninviting, and for this reason the operators prepared to retain their residence in Illinois. Notwithstanding the fact that by 1763 the mines were yielding good returns to the operators, no permanent settlements were made in the mining region itself until that year. Perhaps the establishment of Ste. Genevieve as a place of deposit for the lead mined to the west, made anything besides a mining camp unnecessary. (Stoddard's Sketches of Louisiana, p. 224.)

The hunters and fur traders found it possible to carry on their traffic in Missouri and reside in the settlements in Illinois, if they maintained a residence anywhere, and like the mining operators appeared to prefer such an arrangement. As a usual thing forts are transformed into permanent communities, either the soldiers on their release from service continuing at the places as citizens or others locating around the fort for purposes of protection. Perhaps Fort Orleans would have become a permanent settlement had it not been destroyed by the Indians in 1724 or '25. As there was apparently no other garrison established in Missouri before 1763, the garrisons in Illinois sufficing for all Upper Louisiana, it is very plain why the soldiers did not contribute to the establishment of permanent settlements in this very early period.

From what has been said it is evident that only one permanent settlement had been made in what is now Missouri prior to 1762 because there was no great and urgent necessity for more and because those who came into the country were content to carry on their business in Missouri and hold their residence in Illinois. It appears that an unpopular act on the part of the home government, France, was necessary to inaugurate the Trans-mississippi movement of the French of

Illinois into Missouri. That unpopular act was the cession of Louisiana east of the Mississippi to England in 1763.

When this cession became known to the French inhabitants along the east bank of the Mississippi, great indignation was expressed at the conduct of the mother country. As a result most of them descended the Mississippi and settled in New Orleans or in other parts of Lower Louisiana, while a large number crossed the river and settled in Missouri (Brackenridge's Views of Louisana, p. 235). At the time of the emigration out of Illinois it was not known to the emigrants that Western Louisiana had been transferred to Spain. What the effect would have been if this transfer had been known by the Illinois emigrants, it is hard to say. Edwards in his Great West says the French were very indignant when they learned in April, 1764, of the secret treaty between Spain and France which provided for the transfer of Western Louisiana to Spain. In ignorance of the exact condition of things concerning Western Louisiana a number of villages along the east bank of the Mississippi were depopulated and moved en masse to the west side. It was when this excitement and indignation over the transfer of Eastern Louisiana to England was at its height that Laclede spent the winter of 1763-64 at Fort Chartres, a town in Illinois on the Mississippi. Taking advantage of the conditions of the minds of the people, he conceived the idea of forming a settlement at once around the post he had started out to establish, and so he invited as many as would to go with him. The result was that his movement sprang at once into a little village which afterwards became St. Louis.

The village of St. Phillipe, four miles north of St. Charters, containing ten or twelve families, was deserted by 1765 by all but one family, all but this one family going to the west side of the river. So in earnest were these people in leaving a country forsaken by their mother government that thy brought all their movables, and some even tore down their houses and carried what they could of them over with them. (Billon Annals of St. Louis, pp. 13-22.) What happened in this village likely happened in other villages of the same region.

This immigration of the French from Illinois which began in 1764, was accelerated, says Brackenridge in his Views of Louisiana, by the conquests of George Rogers Clarke in 1779, but how much this acceleration amounted to, it is difficult to ascertain. (Brackenridge's Views, p. 235.)

The settlements in the present limits of Missouri from the earliest permanent ones down to about 1803 were established in a strip of country about fifty miles in width extending along the Mississippi from a few miles above the mouth of the Missouri to the southern boundary of the state. This strip contains a number of streams which, with the exception of the Meramec, run almost directly east into the Mississippi and which again, excepting the Meramec, are not more than fifty miles in length. Naturally, of course, the first settlements were made on the Mississippi and usually opposite those on the other side, as has already been pointed out. It was not long until other settlements began to spring up along these small streams just mentioned and along the Meramec and the Missouri both of which extended far beyond this frontier line. The necessity for water communication and the excellent soil along these streams made these banks desirable places for settlement.

The history of Louisiana prior to its purchase by the United States is usually divided into these epochs:First, the period of French domination, 1673-1762; second, the period of Spanish domination, 1762-1800; third, the period of retrocession, 1800-1803. This division applies very well in its political history but it is not at all applicable in its social history. When considered from the standpoint of the people, their character, nationality, and ideas, there is but one period prior to the purchase of 1803, and that we may call the period of French influence and French population. Notwithstanding the fact that France ceded all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi together with the Isle of Orleans to Spain in 1762, this ceded territory never became Spanish in population or spirit. Except in the partial use of Spanish in a few official documents, it remained French during the entire period of Spanish domination. Billon says in his Annals: "The intercourse of the people with each other and their governors, their commerce, trade, habits, customs, manners, amusements, marriages, funerals, services in church, parish registers—everything was in French. The governors and officials all spoke French—it was a sine qua non in their appointment. The few Spaniards that settled in the country soon became Frenchmen, and all married French wives; no Frenchman became a Spaniard; two or three of the governors were Frenchmen by birth; wives of Governors Piernes and Trudeau were French ladies. Outside of the Spanish officials and soldiers not more than twelve Spaniards came to St. Louis during the domination of Spain. Governor Delasus was born in France and [Governor] Trudeau [was] of French stock, and nearly all the papers in the archives were in the French language. The country was only Spanish in possession, but practically French in all else." (Billon Annals of St. Louis, pp. 67-77.)

Another authority has pointed out that as late as 1786 the village records and registers of deaths and marriages show that there were were but few of the two thousand credited to the province at that time who were not descendants of French stock. (Carr's Missouri, pp. 56-57.)

If the names of towns are an index to the nationality of a people the names of the towns in Missouri prior to the purchase of 1803 add to the testimony adduced above as to the predominating French influence. After some investigation, but two places in Missouri prior to 1803 have been found bearing Spanish names, and these are New Madrid and Gayoso. The great majority of the villages, settlements, creeks, rivers, etc, bore French names, though some had Indian names and some later on had American names. Notwithstanding this preponderating French influence and population in the seventeenth century, so great have been the changes in these old French villages that at present the names are the only things to remind us of their former French population. Until recently a number of the oldest towns in the state maintained French quarters, but these have today practically disappeared.

It would be proper to say something at this point of the character of the French settlers in Missouri if time would permit. We will, therefore, pass to a consideration of the early settlements made by the Americans in Missouri.

It is quite impossible to say when the first America settled in Missouri. Billon says that the first one came to St. Louis in 1781 (Billon Annals, p. 398), and it is possible this may have been the earliest American in Missouri. At any rate it was not until well along toward the close of the eighteenth century that Americans began to come in anything like large numbers, and for this there is very good reason. The Alleghanies had not been crossed for purposes of settlement by the Americans until about the eve of the Revolution. Between th Alleghanies and the Mississippi is a vast stretch of territory and it was not to be expected that in the movement of the population over the mountains, certain portions of this territory would be fairly well occupied before that movement pressed on beyond the Mississippi. The settlement of Kentucky and Tennessee was much more rapid than men of the time thought it would be. Jefferson is said to have declared it would take a thousand years to settle the Trans-Alleghaney region. In 1785 Kentucky had a population of 12,000 and in 1790 she had 73,677, while Tennessee had 35,691.

To understand the early settlement of our western country, one must always keep in mind the desire of the early pioneer to get a little further beyond the existing frontier line. The love of independence and of freedom from restraint and the relish for hazardous enterprises, led many to forsake the old communities and settle in a new and remote country. Often the prospect of greater prosperity and wealth, or the hope of retriving financial misfortunes, indeed many to seek new homes in the far west. These motives are seen in the movement of people from Virginia and the Carolinas into Kentucky and Tennessee, and are seen again in the movement from Kentucky and Tennessee into Missouri and Arkansas.

In discussing certain specific causes which turned people in the direction of Missouri we will give first place, first in point of time at least, to this desire of men of certain types of men such as Daniel Boone, to live where there is plenty of room. For such men, Kentucky in 1785 with her population of 12,000 was getting "crowded" and the more restless began to move on. The direction of the flow of the river of Kentucky would indicate that the first movement out of Kentucky was principally into the old Northwest Territory. Naturally the Kentucky emigrants would follow the Ohio, and the Ohio would bring them to the southeastern portion of what is now Missouri.

Just at this time there occurred an event which we may call the second cause for American immigration to Missouri. This was the ordinance of 1787. By providing for the exclusion of slavery from the Northwest Territory, the ordinance of 1787 resulting in checking the immigration of slaveholding settlers into this territory and in driving many who had already located there into what is now Missouri. Moreover it deflected that current of emigration which had been flowing out of Kentucky into the region north of Ohio, into the Missouri country. We may safely say there was at this time the beginning of that Kentucky and Virginia stock which became and is today such a prominent element in the population of this state.

What the ordinance of 1787 began, the special inducements offered by Spain to American settlers in 1797 greatly augmented. The former may be said to have acted negatively, the latter positively, in inducing immigration to Missouri. These Spanish offers to American settlers may be considered the third cause for American immigration to Missouri. At this time it seems that Spain feared an attack by the English from Canada upon Upper Louisiana, and in order to meet this invasion successfully, it was considered advisable to increase the population of Upper Louisiana. To this end special inducements were offered to American settlers. Lands were granted freely save the expense of surveys and office fees and taxes were reduced until they were practically nothing. The effectiveness of these inducements is best seen in the increase of population. In 1785 there was in what is now Missouri a population of

2,093; in 1799, 6,028; in 1803 there was in all Upper Louisiana, it is estimated, 10,340, and some have estimated as high as 16,000 though that is undoubtedly too much. American immigration is largely the cause of this rapid increase.

The fourth cause for the immigration of Americans to Missouri was the Louisiana purchase. The effect of the purchase upon immigration is plainly seen. In spite of the inducements offered, many were deterred from immigrating to Missouri because it was foreign territory. The purchase gave assurance of protection by the United States, and this brought a very large increase of population in Missouri in a single decade. In 1803 the estimated population of Upper Louisiana was about 10,000; in 1804 it was about 25,000. The greater part of the American immigrants came from Kentucky and Tennessee. However, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas —states which were easily connected with the few routes of travel from the east to the west—sent out emigrants for Missouri though of course in not as great numbers as Kentucky and Tennessee.

The purchase of Louisiana was not agreeable to the majority of those who had settled in it prior to 1803. Stoddard says that only a few French and a part of the Americans were at first reconciled to it, but they never manifested any discontent. (Stoddard's Sketches, p. 311.) Ashe in his Travels, published in 1806, says that some families of a high sense of honor, either offered at a great loss, or abandoned, their lands, some of them well improved and quite valuable, and went into Mexico. But beyond the emigration of these Spanish and few officials who returned to their native countries, the population of Upper Louisiana suffered no further decrease. (Ashe's Travels, p. 287.)

As a result of the transfer, a distinction of classes soon sprang up, and the simple social democracy of the old French regions disappeared. While personal property, except a few things, decreased in value 200 per cent, real property increased 500 per cent. The principal villages soon began to change in appearance and put on American aspects; more life and bustle was seen in them. While it was a matter of doubt whether the poorer classes received any immediate benefit from the change, yet it was acknowledged that the middle classes had been greatly benefited thereby and it was only this class that seemed at all satisfied with the transfer. (Brackenridge's View, pp. 240-251.)

American immigrants settled at first within the original area of settlements, either locating in those settlements already established or in the unoccupied territory within the frontier lines. The majority of the earliest American immigrants preferred to live out in the country, separated from each other, rather than build towns of their own or settle in those already established by the French. This desire for country contrasts very strikingly with the French desire for town life. It may be well to note here that in settling in an entirely new country these American pioneers preferred to locate along the streams and in the edge of the timber. They settled on streams for purposes chiefly of easy communication with the outside world, and along the edge of timber for the purposes of protection and because they considered the prairie land unfit for cultivation.

Within ten years after the purchase a noticeable change had taken place in the extent and character of the Missouri settlements. The population had been more than doubled and it was estimated that four-fifths of the people then in Missouri were Americans. Moreover the American settlers had, by the close of the first decade of American control, begun to make their way out into the interior, some going as far as two hundred miles from the settled regions. Several new districts were formed. In 1804 Upper Louisiana was divided into six districts: St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid and Arkansas. Of these the first five lay in part at least in Missouri. In 1813 another district was organized in Missouri and called Washington county. The growth of settlements around the mines at Potosi and vicinity necessitated the formation of a new county out of a part of original Ste. Genevieve district, and in this way Washington county was formed. In 1815 Lawrence county was formed out of a part of New Madrid county. In 1816 Howard county was formed out of the western parts of St. Louis and St. Charles districts. The erection of Howard county was due to the establishment of settlements in what was known as Boon's Lick territory, and the name Boon's Lick leads us to a consideration of the movement into the interior.

The first movement into the interior was up the Missouri river. Several things contributed to give this direction to the movement: first, the Missouri river was the one great natural route leading far into the interior; second, the rough and hilly country in the southeastern part of the state, Washington, Iron and Madison counties, and the swampy region in Bollinger and Stoddard counties, formed natural barriers in the way of early expansion directly west of the original strip of settlements along the Mississippi; third, not only were these regions just west of the original strip of settlements difficult for immigration to pass through, but they were ill adapted to the purposes of the immigrants. The settlers were seeking farming lands, and this they could find in greatest abundance along the Missouri. As a result of this deflection of the current of American immigration into Missouri, the central interior was fairly well populated before the region just beyond the second tier of counties west of the Mississippi to the south of the Missouri began to be occupied.

At the same time the movement up the Missouri was going on, a similar one, though not so strong at first, was ascending the Mississippi and its tributaries. The northeastern part of the state was free from those barriers which we noted in the southeastern part of the state. It was a level country and its streams that emptied into the Mississippi opened the way far into the interior north of the Missouri, and very soon after the population began to move up the Mississippi north of St. Louis, settlements sprang up on Salt river, Cuivre river and other tributaries of the Mississippi.

To return to the movement up the Missouri. The settlements in the interior along the Missouri clustered thickest in early times in what was known as Boon's Lick country. The name Boon's Lick was first applied to that spot in Howard county where the Boones made salt in 1807, later it was applied to all the territory along the Missouri above Cedar creek, and finally it was used to designate the whole interior of the state. (Switzler's Missouri, p. 176). When Boone's Lick was first settled it appears that but two other settlements existed along the Missouri between it and the St. Charles settlements, Loutre Island bordering on Montgomery county and Cote sans Dessein in Callaway county. For all practical purposes it might be said that at the time the entire region between Boone's Lick and the vicinity of St. Charles was unoccupied.

Though the occupation of Boone's Lick country began in 1810 the great rush of people into it did not commence until 1817 and '18. For this three reasons may be assigned: First, it took time for the fame of this particular section to get circulated among the prospective immigrants; second, the sickly season of 1811 in Missouri, commonly called "the year of waters" discouraged immigration. The great amount of sickness broke up some of the new settlements in Boone's Lick and on Salt river; third, the war of 1812 had its influence in checking immigration to Missouri. The hostilities of the Indians were the feature of the war that checked immigration.

With the return of peace, this tide of immigration which had been arrested by the war set in with greater strength towards Missouri, and most of these new immigrants settled in Boone's Lick country. The current had got towards this part of the state because of the name it had gotten in the western and southern states as being more desirable than any other. The imaginations of the people, who talked about it as they were about to set out for Missouri, made this special tract to flow with milk and honey and to blossom as the rose. Boone's Lick became the common center of hopes and the common point of union for the people. If, says Flint, one should ask an immigrant to Missouri where he was going, the answer invariably was "to Boone's Lick to be sure." (Flint's Recollections, pp. 202-203.)

The Franklin Intelligencer, a paper published at Franklin, the most important town and county seat of Howard county in its early days in its issue of Novemeber 19th, 1819, says: "Immigration to this country and particularly to this county during this season, exceeds almost belief. Those who have arrived in this quarter are principally from Kentucky, Tennessee, etc. Immense numbers of wagons, carriages, carts, etc., with families, have for some time past been daily arriving. During October it is stated no less than 271 wagons and four wheeled carriages and 55 two wheeled carriages and carts, passed near St. Charles bound principally for Boone's Lick. It is calculated that the number of persons accompanying these wagons, etc., could not be less than 3,000. It is stated in the St. Louis Enquirer of the the 10th inst. that about twenty wagons, etc., per week passed through St. Charles for the last nine or ten weeks with wealthy, respectable immigrants from various states whose united numbers are supposed to amount to 12,000. The county of Howard, already respectable in numbers, will soon possess a vast population and no section of our country presents a fairer prospect to the immigrant." (History of Howard and Cooper Counties, pp. 126-7.)

By 1830 Boone's Lick territory had become quite populous and the movement of population up the Missouri had reached the western boundary of the state. In and around the two counties of Clay and Jackson, the population had grown to be almost as dense as that in Boone's Lick and that in the original area of settlements along the Mississippi. Between these three centers of population along the Missouri those around St. Louis, Boone's Lick, and what is now Kansas City, sparse settlements had been established all along, so that there was some sort of continuous occupation from the mouth of Missouri to the western boundary of the state.

By this time flank movements of population on either side of the Missouri had begun. People were beginning to move from the river counties to the southern and northern parts of the state. The movement to the north of the Missouri met a corresponding movement west from the Mississippi, and these two streams of population rapidly filled up the whole northern part of the state. The movement to the south of the Missouri did not meet a corresponding movement west from the Mississippi because of reasons assigned earlier in this paper. Hence the southern part of the state was very slow in filling up.

In 1816 there were but seven counties in the state. By 1830 twenty-four new ones, mostly in the interior, had been organized. This in itself is strong evidence of the growth and spread of population throughout the state.

At this point we have reached that period in the early settlement of Missouri up to which, it was stated at the beginning of this paper, the consideration would be carried. The subject is not complete without a continuation of the study of the growth and spread of Missouri's population. But a study of Missouri's population since 1830 is much more complete than that prior. New motives for immigration, new means of transportation, new elements of population, some even from foreign lands, new facilities for agriculture, new industries—all these, and other things enter into the subjects and make the subject much more difficult. As one pursues the subject he sees not only an increase in population so that today our state stands fifth in the Union, but he sees the unoccupied section settled and the density becoming more uniform throughout the state.

E. M. VIOLETTE.

THE BEGINNINGS OF MISSOURI LEGISLATION. (1)

The fact that the Universal Exposition for commemorating the Louisiana Purchase, was postponed one year served a useful purpose in calling attention to certain events of 1804, which, for the people of Missouri, are only secondary in their significance to the treaty with France which resulted in the acquisition, by the United States, of the Trans-Mississippi region. The territory embraced within the present boundaries of Missouri was not transferred to the United States until 1804. Moreover, the first general laws enacted under American authority were published on October 1, of that year. In striking contrast with the condition in the southern portion of the Louisiana Purchase, we find that French and Spanish influence upon legal institutions in Missouri has been very slight, being almost inappreciable. Accordingly, in a consideration of the beginnings of Missouri legislation we do not need to examine the provisions of the acts in force during French and Spanish rule, but can start with the first American laws which were enacted 100 years ago.

It is the purpose of this paper to indicate the sources of these early laws, to consider their nature and scope and to call attention to some of their leading characteristics. As an introduction to this legislation, however, it will be desirable to consider briefly the events which preceded and influenced the movement.

The Spanish Province of Louisiana was divided into two districts of settlement, separated from each other not only geographically but also by differences in social and economic conditions. New Orleans and its adjacent territory represented what was relatively a high stage of development as compared with the primitive social life in Upper Louisiana. The distance separating the two sections prevented the governor at New Or-

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1. A paper read before the State Historical Society of Missouri at its fourth annual meeting, held at Columbia, December 9, 1904.

leans from exercising any direct supervision of the northern district, the government of which was left largely to the discretion of the lieutenant governor, residing at St. Louis, who was vested with civil and military powers. The civil law was embodied in the Code of the Indies, which consisted of a digest of Spanish colonial laws, supplemented, when the code was silent, by the general laws of Spain. The whole system was permeated by the features of the Roman civil law. (2) While these laws furnished equitable means for the regulation of private relations a practical difficulty was presented in the fact that in Upper Louisiana, at least, the subordinate officials were not familiar with their provisions. Moreover, while civil and military powers were distinct, the situation of the colony as a frontier post, against the English in Canada on one hand, and the Indians on the other, necessitated the vesting of both classes of powers in the same official and, under the conditions which existed, the military features predominated. The administration of justice was summary and reflected the personal views of the particular official. Appeals could be taken to the lieutenant governor and, from him, to the governor general at New Orleans. (3)

While the powers of the government were theoretically absolute they were exercised for the most part judiciously and the people were contented. Very little occasion existed for legislation or governmental administration as social conditions were extremely primitive. Lawyers were practically unknown. The simple village life of the people, which was similar to that of a large family, was free from crimes and the few civil disputes were left to the arbitration of neighbors or the informal determination of the officials. (4)

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2. Stoddard, Sketches of Louisiana. Chap. VIII.

3. An effective check upon the use of appeals as dilatory proceedings existed in the rule that before the appeal could be taken the appellant must pay the full amount of the judgment against him, the respondent being required to give bonds to refund same in case the appeal was sustained. See Stoddard, Sketches, p. 285.

4. Stoddard states that the disgrace which was attached to criminal punishments affected the peaceably inclined Creoles while the terror of such punishments (the dungeons of Havana or transportation to the Mexican mines) held the American settlers in awe. Sketches, p. 283.

While there were few Europeans in Upper Louisiana, at the time of its cession by France to Spain, those who came in the next succeeding years were almost exclusively French and French-Canadians. French ideas and social institutions prevailed throughout the Spanish period. The last decade of the eighteenth century, however, witnessed the beginning of a movement of Americans across the Mississippi and, at the time of the cession, the latter constituted a relatively large percentage of the population. In a Description of Louisiana, communicated to Congress on November 14, 1803, (5) it is stated that, at New Madrid, the inhabitants are mostly Americans and that "at least two-fifths, if not a greater proportion of all the settlers on the Spanish side of the Mississippi in the Illinois country, are likewise supposed to be Americans." Major Stoddard, who became the first American governor of the District in 1804, estimated that at that time the Americans constituted more than three-fifths of the total population. (6)

The total population of Upper Louisiana, at the time of the Purchase, is variously estimated at from 6,000 to 16,000. As the documents submitted to congress in 1803, show a population in this district of more than 6,000 in 1799, which was largely increased by American immigration in the next succeeding five years (7), it is probable that the total population in 1804 did not fall short of 10,340, which was the estimate of Major Stoddard. (8) This movement of Americans into the territory which was much more rapid after the Louisiana Purchase, serves to explain not only the changes in social and industrial life but also the practical absence of French and Spanish influence upon early legislation.

It must not be assumed, however, that the Americans of Upper Louisiana were enthusiastic over its acquisition by the United States. Many of them had left the United States because of special inducements offered by the Spanish governor

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5. Amer. State Papers, Miscellaneous. Vol. I. pp. 344-356.
6. Sketches, p. 225.
7. Amer. State Papers, Miscell., Vol. I. pp. 382, 383.
8. Sketches, p. 226.

during the last years of the eighteenth century. They had received grants of land, the titles of which had not been perfected, and they were uncertain of the attitude of the new government towards their claims. Moreover, many of the settlers had crossed the Mississippi on account of the Ordinance of 1787, which prevented them from taking their slaves into the Northwest Territory. These, in common with the French inhabitants, feared attacks upon the institution of slavery, despite the provisions of the Treaty guaranteeing to them the enjoyment of their property. The French residents, whose hopes had been excited by the earlier report of the cession of the territory by Spain to France, had, in their religion, particular grounds for apprehension. (9)

Fortunately President Jefferson was conscious of the conditions which existed and took measures for allaying the fears of the inhabitants. Congress was called in special session on October 17, 1803, and, as soon as the Senate had ratified the Treaty and ratifications had been exchanged, the President sent a special message to Congress, suggesting that, pending the establishment of a permanent form of government for the new territory, there should be made "temporary provisions for the preservation, in the meanwhile, of order and tranquility in the country, as the case may require." (10) Congress responded with the Act approved October 31, 1803, (11) which authorized the President to take possession of the territory and provided that "all the military, civil and political powers, exercised by the officers of the existing government......shall be vested in such person and persons, and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct, for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion."

In pursuance of this Act, Captain, later Major Amos Stoddard was designated the first civil commandant of Upper Louisiana with the same powers as

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9. Albach's Annals of the West, p. 537.
10. Annals, 8th Cong. 1st. Sess., Vol. 1. p. 17.
11. Stat. at Large, Vol. II. p. 245.

had been possessed by the lieutenant governor under Spanish rule. On March 9, 1804, Captain Stoddard, acting as commissioner for the French Republic, received formal possession of Upper Louisiana from the Spanish authorities and, on the following day, he transferred the territory to the United States. He was instructed that "inasmuch as the largest portion of the old inhabitants were strenuously opposed to the change of government, it would go far to conciliate them, and they would much sooner become reconciled to the new order of things, by making little, if any change in the *modus operandi* of the government, at least for a time." (12) In accordance with these instructions practically no change in administration was introduced during the temporary government of the civil commandant. The subordinate officials of the former administration were retained and the soldiers and insignia of the United States were the only evidences of the important change which had taken place.

Meanwhile Congress had been considering more definite provisions for the government of the acquired territory and in March, 1804, passed an act entitled "An act erecting Louisiana into two territories, and providing for the temporary government thereof." (13) The act, as its title indicates, separated the two divisions of Louisiana. Lower Louisiana, embracing all of the territory south of the thirty-third degree of north latitude, was given a separate territorial government under the name of the Territory of Orleans, while all of the remainder of the province was called the District of Louisiana. Legally, this district embraced the territory included in the present boundaries of Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, the two Dakotas and Indian Territory and parts of Minnesota, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado and Oklahoma. Practically, however, the governmental jurisdiction was limited to certain areas adjacent to the Mississippi river in Missouri and Arkansas.

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12. Billon, Annals of St. Louis, Vol. I. p. 364.
13. Stat. at Large, Vol. II. p. 283.

The District of Louisiana was attached for governmental purposes to the Territory of Indiana, which, in 1800, had been separated from the Northwest Territory and had been given a separate territorial organization. (14) The connection which was thus established with Indiana Territory, and through it, with the Northwest Territory, was of great significance for the early legislation since it determined the source of most of these acts as will be indicated below. The governor and chief officials of Indiana Territory were to possess and exercise in the District of Louisiana, jurisdiction similar to that which they possessed in their own Territory. Hence, in order to understand the character of the governmental organization in the former we must consider the central government of Indiana Territory.

The act which organized this territory provided a government that, in all important respects, was similar to that provided by the famous Ordinance of 1787. The chief officials consisted of a governor, secretary and three judges appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The governor was the chief executive, the judges, or any two of them, constituted a court with common law jurisdiction, while the governor and judges acting together constituted the law making body. In accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 the legislative power of the governor and judges was restricted to the adoption of "such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary." The governor and judges of the Northwest Territory appear to have experienced considerable difficulty in restricting their legislation to the laws of the original states and frequently violated this provision. In legislating for the District of Louisiana, however, the Indiana authorities had broader powers, in this respect, than those which they possessed with reference to their own Territory. They were authorized "to make all laws which they may deem conducive to the good government of the inhabitants," subject, of course, to the qualification that they

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14. Act, May 7, Stat. at Large, Vol. II. p. 58.

should be consistent with the constitution and statutes of the United States. It was provided, moreover, that the laws in force in the said District of Louisiana, which were not inconsistent with the Act of Congress, should continue in force until altered, modified or repealed by the governor and judges of Indiana Territory. In other words, the Civil Law, which had obtained during the Spanish Period, continued as the common law of the District.

Acting under the provisions of the above Act of Congress, the Governor and Judges of Indiana Territory, at a session held at Vincennes in Indiana, adopted on October 1, 1804, fifteen laws for the District of Louisiana. One additional law was enacted by them for such District, on April 24, 1805, making sixteen in all adopted during the period that this District was attached to Indiana Territory. These acts constitute the foundation upon which our present system of laws has been erected.

William Henry Harrison, later President of the United States, was at this time Governor of Indiana Territory, having been appointed at the time the Territory was organized. He was born and educated in Virginia. Before being appointed governor he had served as Secretary of the Northwest Territory and was its first delegate in Congress. At least one of the judges, Henry Vanderburgh, had also had experience with the government of the Northwest Territory, having been a member and president of its legislative council when that body was organized in 1799. (15) To their previous experience was added that gained during their four years' administration of Indiana Territory. They were thus rendered familiar with the needs of a sparsely settled, frontier community and when they came to legislate for the District of Louisiana, they did not attempt any doubtful experiments but proceeded to apply those acts, the value of which had been demonstrated to them by their experience.

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15. Dillon, History of Indiana, p. 391.

Of the sixteen laws which they enacted, only one, a law regulating boatmen, does not appear in whole or in part in the statutes of Indiana or the Northwest Territory. Ten of these laws were taken from the acts of the Northwest Territory (which were also in force in Indiana Territory) and were practically identical with such acts except for a few features in several of the laws. Four of the laws were substantially the same as acts of Indiana Territory, three of which were modifications of the laws of the Northwest Territory. Finally, the law respecting slaves, which was taken from the Virginia statutes, contained features in common with the Indiana law concerning servants, which was taken from the same source. (16) Thus thirteen of the laws had their source in whole or in part in the statutes of the Northwest Territory, while two of the remaining three acts were influenced by the Acts of Indiana Territory.

Turning now to a consideration of the nature of the laws we find that they were restricted to those which were absolutely necessary for the government during the period of its temporary administration by the Indiana authorities. The enacting clause of each of the laws was as follows: "*Be it enacted by the Governor and Judges of Indiana territory, authorized and empowered by an act of Congress to make laws for the District of Louisiana and it is hereby enacted by the authority of same.*" The general subjects dealt with are indicated by the following titles of the sixteen acts: A law providing for the punishment of certain crimes; a law establishing courts for the trial of small causes; a law respecting slaves; a law regulating county rates and levies; an act establishing and regulating the militia; a law establishing recorders' offices; a law regulating the practice of attornies; a law regulating the appointment of constables; a law regulating boatmen; a law of defalcation; a law to regulate the practice of the general court upon writs of error and for other purposes; a law establishing a court of probate; a law establishing courts of judicature; a law regulating the oath of office; a law estab-

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16. Indiana Laws, 4th Sess., p. 26.

lishing the office of sheriff; a law regulating marriages. It would not be profitable in this connection to consider the details of all these acts. We shall restrict our attention to a general description of the government which was instituted and of the more important provisions pertaining to the relations of private persons.

ORGANIZATION OF THE MILITIA.—Under the provisions of the Act of Congress the Governor of Indiana Territory was commander-in-chief of the militia and appointed all officers thereof except the commanding officers who were appointed by the President. All inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 45 were to be formed into a militia. The act passed by the governor and judges regulated the details of organization. (17) It is similar to the act of the Northwest Territory enacted December 13, 1799, (18) but differs from it and from the Act of Congress in imposing the obligation of militia service upon all inhabitants between the ages of 16 and 50, which were the same limits that had existed in the original act of the Northwest Territory. (19)

Service was not only compulsory but each militiaman was required to provide himself with the necessary arms and equipment. This was a species of taxation for the benefit of the central government of the District which did not raise any revenue by direct taxation until the Act of July 8, 1806. (20) The requirement did not constitute a hardship as the frontier life of the region necessitated the possession of such equipment by most of the adult male population. The section of the act is interesting as illustrating the character of military equipment a century ago. Each militiaman was required to provide himself "with a good musket, a sufficient bayonet and belt, or a fusee, two spare flints, a knapsack, and a pouch with a box therein to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges, suited to the bore of his musket or fusee, each cartridge to contain

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17. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 42.
18. Chase's Statutes, Vol. I. Ch., 105.
19. July 25, 1788, Ibid. Ch. I.
20. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 69.

a proper quantity of powder and ball; or a good rifle, knapsack, pouch and powder horn, with twenty balls suited to the bore of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder."

COUNTY ORGANIZATION.—As the district did not possess a separate territorial government no provision was necessary respecting the central administration of civil affairs which was regulated by the Act of Congress indicated above. The Governor of Indiana, acting under the provisions of such act, divided the District of Louisiana into sub-districts which later came to be known as counties and, in order to avoid confusion with the District, these sub-districts will be referred to as counties. He recognized the five sub-divisions which had existed under Spanish rule, viz., St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. In each of these counties a system of local government was established. The law regulating county rates and levies (21) provided that the Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace should be the general county authority. The composition of this body was determined by the law establishing courts of judicature. (22) The governor was to appoint a competent number of justices of the peace for each county. These justices or any number of them not less than three were authorized to hold quarterly in the county a court which was styled the general quarter sessions of the peace. The judicial functions of this body will be noticed later. As the general administrative authority for the county it was authorized to make contracts for the construction of jails, court houses, bridges, etc.; to audit and allow all claims against the county; to draw up the county budget and to levy the taxes necessary to defray the estimated expenditures.

This Justice of the Peace system of county administration was substantially the same as the form of county government which had prevailed in England at the time of the colonization of America and which was introduced into the Southern and Middle Colonies. In Pennsylvania, in the eighteenth century, it was modified by the introduction of elective commissioners who attended

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21. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 34.
22. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 50.

to the financial administration. The Pennsylvania system of commissioners, without the elective principle, was established in the Northwest Territory in 1795 and continued in an act of 1799. (23) This system continued in effect in Indiana Territory until 1803 when it was abolished by an act of November 5th, and the Virginia justice of the peace system was established in its place. (24) This was the law which was copied in the Acts of the District of Louisiana. In 1806, however, the justice of the peace system was changed by an Act of July 8 (25) which introduced the commissioner system in the Territory of Louisiana, substantially as it had been established in the Northwest Territory by the acts of 1795 and 1799, except that the commissioners were appointed by the governor instead of by the Court of Quarter Sessions.

The elective principle did not appear in county administration in Missouri during the territorial period. The significance of the commissioner system is to be found in the fact that, while it was soon afterwards temporarily abandoned and tentative experiments were made with various other systems, it formed the model upon which the present county court or commissioner system was established.

The other local officials provided by the earliest acts were the sheriff, coroner, assessor, recorder and constable. In addition to the functions which he possesses today, the sheriff was an important official of financial administration, being ex-officio collector and treasurer and also assessor as regards objects subject to specific taxes. While some of these powers were taken from him by later acts they were soon restored and, at the close of the territorial period, the sheriff was ex-officio collector, treasurer and assessor for all kinds of property.

All officials were required to take an oath of office or make an affirmation, the form of which was prescribed by one of the laws. (26) Justices of the peace, sheriffs, coroners, etc., were

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23. Chase, Statutes, Vol. I. Chs., 53, 111.
24. Indiana Laws, 4th Sess., p. 63.
25. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 69.
26. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 64.

required to perform the duties of their respective offices under penalty of $100 fine. Today, when the competition for public office is so keen, compulsory official service is rarely enforced. One hundred years ago, however, when public revenues and official salaries were very small this method of securing public services was frequently resorted to.

TAXATION.—Such revenue as existed at this time was purely local in character. The law regulating county rates and levies (27) was practically identical with the Indiana law of November 5, 1803. (28) This provided for direct taxes on property but did not introduce a general property tax. Specific rates were imposed upon personal property while real estate was subject to an ad valorem rate. Agricultural lands were exempt but all houses and town lots were subject to a tax of not more than thirty cents on each $100 of appraised value. The objects and rates of the tax on personal property were as follows:

Horses, mules, etc...........	not exceeding fifty cents each;
Neat cattle.....................	not exceeding ten cents each;
Stud horses..................	not exceeding rate for season;
Bond servants and slaves......	not exceeding one dollar each.

In addition, all single men above the age of twenty-one years, who did not possess taxable property of the value of $400, were to be subject to a poll tax of not less than fifty cents and not more than two dollars, and, in default of payment thereof, could be committed to jail until payment was made. The penalty was not large enough to serve as an inducement to marriage even if any such inducement had been necessary at that time. It was doubtless intended as a general poll tax on all men who did not possess taxable property with an exemption in favor of married men falling under this class who were justly regarded as entitled to an exemption from taxation. The act also imposed a license tax upon ferries.

JUDICIAL ORGANIZATION.—In addition to the su-

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27. Ibid. p. 34.
28. Indiana Laws, 4th Sess., p. 63.

preme court of the District, which was composed of the Judges of Indiana Territory, there were the following inferior courts in each county: court of general quarter sessions of the peace, court of common pleas, court of probate and courts of single justices of the peace. (29) The composition of the court of quarter sessions has been described above. It had jurisdiction in criminal cases except those which were capital. The court of common pleas had practically the same organization as the court of quarter sessions and had jurisdiction in civil cases of less than $100 in value. The probate court consisted of one judge and possessed the ordinary jurisdiction of such courts. Single justices of the peace had jurisdiction in petty civil cases.

The tendency in the territorial period was towards the consolidation of courts and in 1813 all of the above courts of the county except that of the single justice were consolidated in a single court of common pleas. (30) Finally in 1815, (31) the counties of the territory were divided into two circuits for each of which a circuit judge, learned in the law, was appointed, to whom was given jurisdiction over the judicial matters arising in the counties in his circuit, and, in 1816, (32) this was extended so as to include the administrative affairs of such counties. This marks the greatest centralization ever attained in Missouri.

ATTORNIES.—Though no attornies seem to have practiced in the territory during the Spanish period they must have appeared with the introduction of American government as one of the earliest laws regulated their practice. (33) An examination before two judges of the supreme court was required of all applicants for licenses who must also present certificates of good moral character. An act of the Northwest Territory had required applicants to present certificates showing that they had studied law for four

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29. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. pp. 20-27, 57-64.
30. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 272.
31. Ibid. p. 345.
32. Ibid. p. 444.
33. Ibid. p. 49.

years. (34) This requirement was abrogated for Indiana Territory by a resolution of the governor and judges of January 20, 1801. (35) The act also provides that not more than two attornies shall argue on any one side, except in criminal cases, unless good cause be shown for exception.

Lawyers' fees were also restricted to figures which appear far from liberal. The act undertook to specify the fees that might be charged for different legal services and prescribed penalties for overcharges. The respective amounts were left blank but an act of July 7, 1807, (36) fixing the fees of officials, provided fees for lawyers, ranging from $3 to $7 according to the nature of the legal proceeding. Moreover, the right to the fee depended upon the success of the lawyer's efforts, as only the attorney of the party obtaining the judgment was entitled to his fee which was to be taxed with the bill of costs.

CRIMINAL CODE.—Aggravated crimes had been very rare under Spanish rule. Thomas Ashe, who traveled through this region in 1806, testifies to the fact that the coming of the Americans had produced a great change, introducing the lawlessness characteristic of our frontier settlements. (37) Hence, legislation respecting crimes was necessary. The act adopted (38) was in most respects identical with the original criminal statute of the Northwest Territory. (39) In one notable respect it marked an advance over the latter. The pillory and whipping post, which were utilized as means of punishment for certain crimes in the Northwest Territory, were not treated as agencies for the reformation of criminals in the District of Louisiana except that the pillory was provided in cases of perjury and forgery and the whipping post was prescribed for the punishment of certain violations of the act respecting slaves. On the other hand, a retrogression appears in a more common provision for the death penalty than existed in what

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34. Chase, Stat., Vol. I. Ch. 87.
35. Ind. Laws, 1st Sess., pp. 6, 7.
36. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 163.
37. Ashe, Travels in America. pp. 290, 291.
38. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 15.
39. Chase, Stat. Vol. I. pp. 97-101.

has been characterized as the "barbarous criminal code" of the Northwest Territory. (40) Thus arson and certain degrees of burglary and robbery were treated as capital crimes. The act respecting slaves established particular crimes with severe punishments for certain acts of slaves and of other persons having relations with them.

SLAVERY LEGISLATION.—Slavery existed in the Spanish province and, as the treaty with France provided that the inhabitants should be protected in the free enjoyment of their property, it was incumbent upon the American officials to legislate for this institution. There is no doubt, however, that, independent of this stipulation such legislation would have been enacted. Many of the Americans resident in the district had crossed the Mississippi because of the provision of the Ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery in the Northwest and Indiana Territories. Moreover, some of the inhabitants of the latter territory possessed slaves and indentured servants and a large number of them favored the abolition of the prohibitory clause. A convention, consisting of delegates elected by the people of the several counties of Indiana Territory, which met in 1802, adopted a memorial to Congress petitioning for the suspension of such clause. (41) While Congress refused its consent to such suspension, the governor and judges in their legislation practically recognized the institution. Thus, for example, slaves were taxed, as such, under the revenue law referred to above, and an act of September 22, 1803, entitled a law respecting servants, (42) was in fact a law for the regulation of slavery. One section of that act (43) was practically identical with section 11 of the act respecting slaves, which the governor and judges adopted for the District of Louisiana. (44)

The Indiana act had been taken from the statutes of Virginia and it was from the same source that the act for the Dis-

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40. Howard, Local Const. Hist. p. 416.
41. Dillon, Hist. of Indiana, p. 410, 411.
42. Indiana Laws, 4th Sess., p. 26.
43. Section 10.
44. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. pp. 27-33.

trict of Louisiana was for the most part derived. (45) While the latter act did not incorporate all of the harsh and cruel features which had characterized the Virginia slave code, it contained strict regulations governing the acts of slaves and imposed severe punishments for violations of its provisions. As in the case of Virginia, this was due primarily to a fear of conspiracies and insurrections among the negroes and the actual treatment of the slaves was much milder and more humane than the laws would indicate.

MARRIAGES.—In April, 1805, the Governor and Judges of Indiana Territory passed one additional act for the district, the necessity for which had evidently been overlooked in the preceding year. This was the law regulating marriages (46) which was practically the same as one of the early laws of the Northwest Territory. (47) This act authorized judicial officials as well as clergymen to join persons in marriage and required all who so officiated to file a certificate of the marriage with the recorder. Apparently certain marriage ceremonies had been performed by judicial officials before the passage of this act. Inasmuch as the Spanish law, which continued in force, until modified or repealed, did not recognize civil marriages, the act contained a provision validating all such marriages which had been performed between October 1, 1804, and the date of the passage of the act.

BOATMAN —Most of the settlements in the District were on the banks or in the vicinity of navigable streams. The regulation of river traffic was, accordingly, a matter of importance and one of the laws of October 1, 1804, was for the regulation of boatmen. It provided means for compelling boatmen to render proper service and for restraining the master of the boat from cruel usage, etc.

OTHER LAWS IN FORCE.—In accordance with the provisions of the Act of Congress, all laws which were in force in

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45. Hening's Statutes of Virginia, Vol. VI. pp. 106-112, 356-369; Vol. XII. pp. 145, 182, 183.

46. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 65.

47. Chase, Stat. Vol. I. Ch. 7.

the District at the commencement of the Act and which were not inconsistent with its provisions, continued in force until altered, modified or repealed by the legislative authority. Similar provisions were included in the subsequent acts of Congress affecting this territory. Hence the Civil Law continued in force to the extent that it was not modified by positive acts. This continued the rule until an act of the Territory of Missouri of January 19, 1816, (48) which was modeled upon a Virginia statute, provided that the common law of England and all British statutes made prior to the 4th year of the reign of James I, which were of a general nature and not contrary to the constitution and laws of the United States or of the Territory of Missouri, should be the rule of decision until altered by the legislature, any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding. (Excepted from the above rule were the British statutes respecting crimes, etc., and the doctrines of entail and survivorship in joint tenancies.) This substituted the English Common Law for the Civil Law as the basis of our jurisprudence.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SEPARATE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.—The inhabitants of the District of Louisiana were not satisfied with the character of the temporary government provided by the Act of Congress of March 26, 1804. They were quick to seize upon American political methods. On September 29, 1804, two days before the Governor and Judges of Indiana Territory enacted the above laws, a remonstrance was drawn up and forwarded to Congress by deputies from the several counties of the District. (49) So far as regards political matters they complained chiefly of the fact that they were governed by a governor and judges who did not reside in the District. They also petitioned for authority to elect representatives from each county to form, with the governor, the legislative council of the territory.

While Congress did not grant all of their requests the

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48. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 436.

49. Amer. State Papers, Miscellaneous, Vol. I. pp. 400-405.

justice of the petition for a separate territorial government was recognized. The distance which separated them from Vincennes, which was the capital of Indiana Territory, was too great an obstacle to communication, under the conditions which then existed. (50) Congress accordingly, passed the act of March 3, 1805, (51) which went into effect on July 4th of that year. The only important modifications effected by this act were the change of the name from the District to the Territory of Louisiana and its separation from Indiana Territory, provision being made for a governor, secretary and judges who should reside in the territory. General James Wilkinson was appointed the first governor.

This form of government continued until 1812, when the Territory of Orleans was admitted into the Union as the State of Louisiana. Thereupon, Congress passed the Act of June 4, 1812, (52) changing the name of the Territory of Louisiana to that of the Territory of Missouri and vesting legislative powers in a general assembly, consisting of the governor, a house of representatives chosen by the people of the several counties, and a legislative council composed of nine members appointed by the President of the United States from eighteen persons nominated by the territorial house of representatives.

In 1816, (53) the territory was raised to the highest grade, the elective principle being established for the legislative council, each county being entitled to choose one member.

Finally, under the Enabling Act passed by Congress (54) a constitution was adopted on July 19, 1820, and the State government was put into operation on the third Monday in September of that year.

During the period between 1805 and 1820, many acts were

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50. The residents of the western part of Indiana Territory, embracing what is now Illinois, had experienced similar difficulties and, in 1803, had presented a memorial to Congress asking to be attached to the territorial government to be formed for Upper Louisiana. Annals, 8th Cong. 1st Sess., p. 489.

51. Stat. at Large, Vol. II. p. 331.

52. Ibid. 743.

53. Act, April 29, Stat. at Large, Vol. III. p. 328.

54. Ibid. p. 545.

passed modifying the provisions of those which had been enacted by the Governor and Judges of Indiana Territory. The latter, however, constitute the starting point in the century of Missouri legislation and their influence can still be traced in the laws of the State.

ISIDOR LOEB.

LINCOLN, HANKS AND BOONE FAMILIES.

Some Genealogical Notes Illustrating Their Connection. (1)

1. In the year 1620 a Mrs. Lincoln, in Hingham, County Norfolk, England, folded to her bosom a babe which she named Samuel. We have no positive information as to the given names of either the father or the mother. We do know that when the boy was 14 years of age he was apprenticed to Francis Lawes, in Norwich, England, to learn the art of weaving, at that time a thriving industry of that city, the chief seat of Puritanism.

On April 8, 1637, Francis Lawes, Lidda, his wife, with one child, Mary, and two servants, Samuel Lincorne, aged 18 years, and Anne Smith, aged 19 years, were examined for emigration to New England, and came over either in the ship John and Dorothy of Ipswich, commanded by William Andrews, or in the Rose of Yarmouth, commanded by William Andrews, Junior, both of which vessels sailed in company, and landed their passengers at Salem, Massachusetts. Lawes remained in Salem, dying there in 1666. His daughter, Mary, married, 1st, John Neale, 2d, Andrew Mansfield. Soon after landing, Samuel Lincoln moved to Hingham, Massachusetts, where he became a proprietor in 1649. It is thought that Thomas Lincoln, who settled at Hingham in 1633, was a brother of Samuel.

Samuel (1) Lincoln married about 1649, Martha ———, by whom he had 11 children. He was known both as ''weaver'' and as ''mariner'' on the records of Hingham. He died there May 26, 1690, aged 71 years, and his wife, Martha, died April 10, 1693. Their children were:

i. Samuel, (2) b. Aug. 25, 1650, m. Apr. 29, 1687, Deborah Hersey. He d. March, 1720-1.

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1. A paper read at the fourth annual meeting of the Society, December 9, 1904, by the President of the Society.

ii. Daniel, b. Jan. 2, 1652-3, m. Jan. 23, 1677-8, Elizabeth Lincoln. He d. Apr. 29, 1732.

iii. Mordecai, b. June 19, d. July 9, 1655.

2. iv. Mordecai, b. June 14, 1657.

v. Thomas, b. Sept. 8, 1659, d. Nov. 13, 1661.

vi. Mary, b. March 27, 1662, m. Jan. 3, 1683-4, Joseph Bate.

vii. Thomas, b. Aug. 20, 1664, m. Aug. 3, 1689, Mehitable Frost. He d. Apr. 2, 1715.

viii. Martha, b. Feb. 11, 1666-7, d. unmarried, Feb. 12, 1740-1, aged 74 years.

ix. Sarah, b. Aug 13, d. Aug. 30, 1669.

x. Sarah, b. June 17, 1671, d. unmarried Nov. 28, 1743, aged 72 years.

xi. Rebecca, b. Mar. 11, 1673-4, m. 1st, May 14, 1695, John Clark, of Plymouth; 2d, June 24, 1725, Israel Nichols, widower.

2. Mordecai (2) Lincoln, born in Hingham, Massachusetts, June 14, 1657, was a blacksmith, and worked at his trade in Hull, where he married about 1685, Sarah, daughter of Abraham and Sarah (Whitman) Jones. From Hull the family moved into the neighboring town of Scituate about 1704, where Mordecai engaged in establishing a furnace for the smelting of iron ore. He became also the owner of saw and grist mills, and appears to have been a thriving, go-ahead man. His wife, Sarah, died about 1708, leaving 5 children, the first four born in Hull, and the fifth born in Scituate. Mordecai married, 2d, about 1710, widow, Mary Gannett, by whom he had one son. He died of apoplexy Nov. 8, 1727. His will, dated May 3, 1727, was proven March 27, 1728. His inventory amounted to £3099, 14s, 8d. His children were:

3. i. Mordecai, (3) b. April 24, 1686.

4. ii. Abraham, b. Jan. 13, 1688-9.

iii. Isaac, b. Oct. 24, 1691, m. 1st, Jan. 25, 1716-17, Sarah Cummings; 2d, Mrs. Jael Wade. He died Jan. 15, 1771.

iv. Sarah, b. July 29, 1694, m. Feb. 25, 1715-6, Daniel Tower and d. July 7, 1754.

v. Elizabeth, m. Ambrose Cole, of Scituate, d. Sept. 14, 1724.

vi. Jacob, b. 1711.

3. Mordecai (3) Lincoln, born April 24, 1686, when grown moved with his brother, Abraham, to Monmouth county, New Jersey. There he married Hannah, daughter of Richard and Sarah (Bowne) Salter, of Freehold, Monmouth county, previous to September 14, 1714, the date of her uncle, Capt John Bowne's will, in which Hannah Lincoln has a bequest of £250. Capt. Bowne was a very wealthy and influential man. Richard Salter was a leading lawyer of the province, county judge, and member of the Provincial Assembly. By deed dated Feb. 29, 1720, Richard Salter conveyed 400 acres of land situate on the Machaponix river to Mordecai Lincoln, and in another deed dated May 26, 1726, Salter conveyed 100 acres at the same place to Mordecai Lincoln, this deed mentioning the grantee as then of Chester county, Pa. A deed from Mordecai Lincoln, dated December 14, 1725, names him as of Coventry, Chester county, and indicates that he was then engaged in the manufacture of iron. Hannah Lincoln died before December, 1725, having borne to Mordecai Lincoln 6 children.

i. Hannah, (4).

ii. Mary (4).

5. iii. John (4).

iv. Deborah, b. Jan. 1717, d. May 15, 1720.

v. Sarah.

vi. Ann, b. Mar. 1725, m. Oct. 2, 1744, William Tallman, b. in Rhode Island Mar. 25, 1720, settled near her brother, John, in Virginia. They had 11 children, only one reaching maturity, Benjamin, b. in Pennsylvania, Jan. 9, 1745-6; m Nov. 9, 1764, Susannah, daughter of Benjamin and Susannah Boone, b. May 10, 1746. She d. July 28, 1824. He d. June 4, 1820.

After his removal to Pennsylvania, Mordecai Lincoln married, 2d, Mary ———, who survived him. His will, dated Feb. 22, 1735-6, in Amity, Pa., gives the New Jersey land to his children by Hannah, and the Amity land to his children by Mary, and makes Mary executrix, with "Loving friends and neighbors, Jonathan Robeson and George Boone, trustees." The children of Mordecai and Mary Lincoln were:

6. vii. Mordecai.
7. viii. Thomas.
8. ix. Abraham.

4. Abraham (3) Lincoln, born Jan. 13, 1689, probably went with his brother, Mordecai, to New Jersey. He was a blacksmith by trade, as related in a deed given by him Feb. 20, 1737, conveying 240 acres of land that he had bought Feb. 11, 1722, also 200 acres that he had bought March 15, 1725. This sale was preparatory to following his brother from New Jersey to Pennsylvania. His will was dated Springfield, Chester County, Pa., April 15, 1745, and was entered for probate the 29th of the same month. The estate consisted of a plantation at Springfield, and two houses in Philadelphia, which was divided among his children. No wife was mentioned, hence she had probably died, and we have, as yet, no trace of her name. The children, in the order given in the will,

i. Mordecai (4).
ii. Abraham.
iii. Isaac.
iv. Jacob.
v. John.
vi. Sarah.
vii. Rebecca, m. Sept. 19, 1750, Joseph Rush.

5. John (4) Lincoln, born about 1712, in East Jersey, went with his father, Mordecai, in 1725, to Pennsylvania. He was left by his father's will 300 acres of land in Middlesex county, N. J., being part of the tract conveyed Oct. 9, 1720, by Richard Salter to Mordecai (3) Lincoln. This land John conveyed by deed November 8, 1748, naming himself then of Caernavon, Lancaster county, Pa. In 1750 he sold a farm in Union township, adjoining Exeter, and moved to Virginia, settling in Augusta county, in the part that was organized as Rockingham county in 1779. His will can not be found, as many of the papers in the probate court at Harrisonburg have

been destroyed by fire. But there is proof of his having had 5 sons, perhaps more, besides daughters. The maiden name of his wife is not certainly known, but family tradition asserts that it was Moore. The names of the children positively known were:

i. John (5)
ii. Thomas (5).
9. iii. Abraham (5).
iv. Isaac (5).
v. Jacob (5) had David (6), who was father of Abraham (7), b. 1820, living 1903 at Lacy Springs, Rockingham county, Va.

6. Mordecai (4) Lincoln, b. about 1730, inherited one-third of his father's Amity, Pa., plantation. He was taxed in Berks county in 1752, and kept store. He was connected with the commissary or quartermaster department during the Revolution. His wife's name is unknown. After the Revolutionary war Mordecai (6) moved to Fayette county, Pa., where his descendants live to this day. There he died in 1812, aged 82 years, and he was buried at Uniontown. His children were:

i. Benjamin (5), b. Nov. 29, 1756, settled in Fayette county, Pa.
ii. John (5), b. March 28, 1758, when a young man went to visit his uncle, John, in Va., and there had his nose bitten off in a fight, and his father was obliged to go for him. He was taken home to Fayette county, and placed under the guardianship of his brother, Benjamin, on the homestead farm.
iii. Ann, b. Nov. 22, 1759, m. William Jones.
iv. Hannah, b. Dec. 31, 1761.
v. Sarah, b, Feb. 25, 1767.

7. Thomas (4) Lincoln, b. 1733, was the second sheriff of Berks county. He had two sons.

i. Hananiah (5), served during the Revolution, subsequently joined Boone's infant settlement in Kentucky, and afterwards moved to Missouri.

ii. Michael, served in the Revolution, and immediately after the war closed settled in Union county, Pa., where his descendants live to this day.

8. Abraham (4) Lincoln, the posthumous son of Mordecai and Mary Lincoln, of Amity, Pa., b. 1736, m. Ann Boone, a first cousin of Daniel Boone. It is said that Daniel Boone used to go back from North Carolina often to visit his friends in Pennsylvania, and his glowing accounts of the south and west probably induced John (4) Lincoln to remove to Virginia. After his removal there he was called Virginia John to distinguish him from others bearing the same name. Abraham was a member of the legislature of Pennsylvania from Berks county in 1782, a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States, also a member of the Convention which framed the Pennsylvania Consitution of 1790. His descendants live in Berks, Chester, Lancaster and other adjoining counties. The children of Abraham and Ann Lincoln were:

i. Mordecai.
ii. James, b. 1766, d. Birdsboro, Pa., 1860, aged 94.
iii. Thomas, d. 1864.
iv. John.

9. Captain Abraham (5) Lincoln was born near Harrisonburg, Virginia, in 1751, and lived near Lynnville Creek, Rockingham county. He was a captain of militia in 1776, during that year presiding at a court martial at Staunton. The record is preserved in the Hustings court, and his name is signed as Abraham Linkhorn, of Staunton. There he married about 1772, Mary Shipley, and there his children were born. In 1782 the family emigrated to Kentucky, settling at Beargrass Fort, near the present city of Louisville. In the original Field Book of Daniel Boone, in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, is the following entry: "Abraham Lincoln enters 500 acres of land on a Treasury Warrant on the south side of Licking Creek or river, in Kentucky." In 1784, while at work with his boys clearing the forest, Captain Lincoln was killed by a lurking Indian, who seized Thomas, 6 years old, as his captive. Mordecai, the oldest boy, only 11 at the

time, shot the Indian through the heart. The children of Capt. Abraham and Mary (Shipley) Lincoln were:

i. Mordecai (6), b. 1773, late in life moved to Hancock, county, Ill.

ii. Josiah (6), b. 1776, settled in Harrison county, Ind.

10. iii. Thomas (6), b. 1778.

iv. Mary, 6. 1780, m. Ralph Crume.

v. Nancy, b. 1783, m. William Brumfield.

10. Thomas (6) Lincoln was born in Augusta, afterwards Rockingham county, Va., in 1778. He went to Kentucky with his father, and as the latter was killed while Thomas was small, he grew up in poverty and privation. The law of entail being then in force, the little property left by Capt. Abraham Lincoln fell to Mordecai, the oldest son, and the others were forced to struggle. Thomas grew up in ignorance, there being then no schools for the poor, and when old enough he was put to work at the carpenter trade with Joseph Hanks, of Elizabethtown, Ky. On June 12. 1806, he married Nancy Hanks. born 1783, a sister of Joseph Hanks, both of them being Thomas Lincoln's first cousins. She was superior in attainments and intellectual power, to her husband, and her memory was ever revered by her eminent son. In November 1817 the family removed to Spencer county, Indiana, where Nancy Hanks Lincoln died October 5, 1818. In 1819 Thomas Lincoln married 2d. Widow Sarah Bush Johnston, of Elizabethtown, Ky. In the spring of 1830 the family moved to Macon county, Ill., making several changes thereafter, finally settling in Coles county, where Thomas Lincoln died in 1851, aged 73 years. The children of Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln were:

i. Sarah (7), b. 1807, m. 1826, Aaron Grigsby, d. 1828.

ii. Abraham (7), b. Feb. 12, 1809.

iii. Thomas, d. in infancy.

11. Abraham (7) Lincoln, born in Hardin county, Kentucky, Feb. 12, 1809, moved to Indiana with his parents in 1817, thence to Illinois. He married at Springfield, Illinois, Nov. 4, 1842, Mary Todd, b. 1818, at Lexington, Ky. His eminent life is too well known by all to need repetition here. He died

by the assassin's bullet April 15, 1865, and Mary Todd Lincoln d. July 16, 1882. Children:

i. Robert Todd, b. Aug. 1, 1843.
ii. Edward Baker, b. March 10, 1846, d. young.
iii. William Wallace, b. Dec. 21, 1850, d. Washington, Feb. 20, 1862.
iv. Thomas, b. April 4, 1853, d. Chicago, July 15, 1871.

HANKS.

In the year 1700 a family composed of Uriah Hanks and his wife, Lurana, with two sons, Benjamin and John, left their native place, Birmingham, England, and emigrated to America, landing at Plymouth, Mass. Benjamin finally settled in Conn., while John made his way to Pennsylvania. After some years John Hanks, as the name stands upon the record, citizen of Whitemarsh, stands up before the meeting in the Quaker meeting house in Gwynedd, near Philadelphia, and promises to be a true and loving husband to Sarah Evans. With his young wife he moved up the Schuylkill river to Berks county, settling in Union township, neighbor to Mordecai and John Lincoln, and to George and Squire Boone, father and grandfather of Daniel Boone.

About 1758 the families of John Lincoln and John Hanks moved to Virginia, and were neighbors in Rockingham county. The records of Harrisonburg are very defective, but it is certain that Joseph Hanks, a son of John, married Nancy Shipley, an elder sister of Mary Shipley who married Captain Abraham Lincoln. Joseph Hanks moved from Amelia county, Va., with his family, about 1789, and settled in Nelson county, Ky. There he died in 1793, as his will dated Jan. 9, of that year, was probated May, 14, 1793. By this will he made his wife, Nancy, executrix, and named 8 children as follows:

i. Thomas.
ii. Joshua.
iii. William, married Elizabeth Hall.
iv. Charles.
v. Joseph, m. Polly Young.

vi. Elizabeth, m. Levi Hall.
vii. Polly, m. Jesse Friend.
viii. Nancy, b. 1783, m. Thomas Lincoln.

Joseph Hanks, second, set up a carpenter shop in Elizabethtown, Ky., in which Thomas Lincoln, his first cousin, with scarcely any education, struggled for a livelihood. Two lines of Puritan pioneer descent had now met, one from Norwich, the other from Birmingham, and the marriage on June 12, 1806, of Thomas Lincoln to his cousin, Nancy Hanks, had united them. Nancy, who was born in 1783, had some education, and her intellect seems to have been stronger than that of her husband, although he was by no means the shiftless ne'er do well that he has been represented. She d. Oct. 5, 1818, on Pigeon creek, Spencer county, Indiana, Abraham Lincoln said "All that I am, I owe to my mother."

SHIPLEY.

Robert Shipley bought 314 acres of land on September 16, 1765, in Lunenburg county, Virginia. His wife's name was Sarah Rachael. Their children were:

i. Mary, who married about 1772, Capt. Abraham Lincoln.
ii. Lucy, married Richard Berry and moved about 1789 to Kentucky. She brought up her niece, Nancy Hanks, who was left an orphan young and at her house in Washington county, Ky., June 12, 1806, Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, first cousins, were married.
iii. Sarah, m. Robert Mitchell, settled in Ky.
iv. Elizabeth, m. Thomas Sparrow, settled in Kentucky.
v. Nancy, m. Joseph Hanks and died in Kentucky not very long after her husband's death in 1793.

BOONE.

1. The first of this family in America was Geo. Boone, who was born about 1670 at the old family home of Bradwinch, about 8 miles from Exeter, England. There he married Mary ———, by whom he had nine sons and two daughters. The

entire family emigrated to America, landing at Philadelphia, October 10, 1717. George Boone purchased a tract of land in what is now Bucks county, Pa., and called it Exeter from the town in England whence he had emigrated. Of his eleven children I have only been able thus far to trace three sons by name, John (2), James (2), and Squire (2).

2. Squire (2) Boone was married July 23, 1720, in Essex township, Pa., to Sarah Morgan, and they had 11 children—7 boys and 4 girls. In 1752 the family moved to North Carolina, settling on the banks of the Yadkin river, eight miles from where the town of Wilkesborough now stands. The children were:

i James, killed by Indians in 1773.
ii. Samuel.
iii. Jonathan.
iv. Squire.
v. George.
3. vi. Daniel.
vii. Edward.
viii. Sarah.
ix. Elizabeth.
x. Mary.
xi. Hannah.

3. Daniel (3) Boone was born October 22, 1734, in Exeter township, Pa. He was of a restless pioneer spirit, and early began his adventurous travels, although he had a good education for the times, and was a skilled land surveyor. He removed with his father's family to North Carolina in 1752, and there was married to Rebecca Bryant, August 14, 1756. He d. in St. Charles county, Missouri, September 26, 1820. They had 9 children—5 boys and 4 girls—as follows:

i. James (4), born May 30, 1757, unmarried, killed by Indians, Oct. 26, 1774.
ii. Israel, b. Jan. 25, 1759, unmarried, killed by Indians, August 19, 1782.
iii. Susannah, b. November 2, 1760.
iv. Jemima, b. October 4, 1762, m. in Kentucky about 1782. Flanders Callaway, b. in North Carolina,

June 9, 1753, and had four sons. Their eldest son was Captain James Callaway, b. Fayette County, Ky., September 13, 1783, m. about 1805, Nancy Howell, killed by Indians. A bold and intrepid pioneer for whom Callaway county, Mo., was named. Other children were John, Larkin and Boone.

v. Lavina, b. March 23, 1766.

vi. Rebecca, b. May 26, 1768, m. W. Hays. A daughter, Elizabeth, m. James Van Bibber in Callaway county, about 1816. He with Nathan Boone surveyed Callaway county.

4. vii. Daniel Morgan, b. Dec. 23, 1769, emigrated to St. Louis county, Mo., in 1788, where he married about 1805, Sarah Griffin Lewis, whose father removed from the vicinity of Mt. Vernon, Va., where she was born Jan. 29, 1786. He died July 13, 1837, in Jackson county, Mo., and she died there June 19, 1850.

5. viii. Jesse B., b. May 23, 1773, d. 1820.

6. ix. Nathan.

4. Daniel Morgan (4) and Sarah Griffin (Lewis) Boone had children as follows:

i. John W. (5), b. Dec. 19, 1806, d. unmarried in 1822.

ii. Nathan, b. Feb. 17, 1808, d. unmarried in 1836.

7. iii. Daniel, b. March 27, 1809.

iv. Lindsley, b. Oct. 22, 1811, m. Sarah Grooms, d. 1834.

v. Edward H. b. July 1813, died unmarried in 1860.

vi. Elizabeth L. b. April 22, 1815, m. Jesse White, d. 1850.

vii. Alonzo H. b. March 22, 1817, m. Elizabeth Stewart, d. 1873.

viii. James, b. 1819, m. Lorinda Carbo, b. 1852.

ix. Milton S. b. March 11, d. Aug. 1820.

x. Cassandra, Nov. 3, 1821, m. a Casby, d. May 20, 1845.

xi. Morgan, b. Aug. 3, 1824, m. 1st, Disa Stewart, 2d, Mary Ann Randolph, d. 1852.

xii. Napoleon, b. Aug 22, 1828, died unmarried May 20, 1850.

5. Jesse B. (4) Boone was born in Kentucky May 23, 1773. He moved to Kanawha county, Virginia, with his parents, and was the first salt inspector of that county. He m. there, Chloe Van Bibber, daughter of Mathias Van Bibber, who was companion and chainman for Daniel Boone in all his Kanawha surveying. Van Bibber went to Missouri in 1799 with Daniel Boone, but afterwards returned to Virginia. The James Van Bibber, who settled in Callaway county, Mo., and married in 1816, Elizabeth Hays, a granddaughter of Daniel Boone, was his son. Jesse Boone did not move to Missouri until 1818, ad died there in 1820. His children were:

i. Albert Gallatin, b. Kanawha county, Va., 1803.
ii. Minerva, m. Lilburn W. Boggs, afterwards governor of Missouri.
iii. Panthea, m. a Warner.

6. Col. Nathan (4) Boone, was born in Kentucky about 1777. He married in Kanawha county, Virginia, a Miss Van Bibber, cousin to the wife of his brother, Jesse B. Nathan settled in St. Charles county, Mo., and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820. His father, Daniel Boone, died at his home on the Femme Osage river.

7. Daniel (7) Boone was born in St. Charles county, Mo., on March 27, 1809. He married in January, 1832, Mary Constance Philibert, who was born in Quebec, Canada, in 1813. Her parents moved to St. Louis soon after her birth, and soon died there, and she was adopted by a Chouteau family and taken to Westport Landing, now Kansas City. Here she met Daniel Boone, and became his wife. They settled south of Kansas City on a farm, and the husband died there in 1880. Mrs. Boone died in Kansas City this last summer, survived by 9 children, 52 grand children, 28 great grandchildren and 2 great great grand children. Daniel and Constance Boone had 12 children as follows:

i. Elizabeth L. (6) b. Feb. 22, 1833, m. J. S. Stewart.
ii. Delila (6), 6. Feb. 7, 1834, m. Samuel Stewart.
iii. Mary J., (6) b.July 27, 1838, m. Leonard Fuqua, liv-

ing now at Waldo Park.

iv. Alonzo H. (6), b. May 9, 1840, d. unmarried, Sept. 24, 1859.

v. Napoleon (6), b. Oct. 1, 1842, m. Jane Douglass, living 1904, at Waldo.

vi. Theodore, b. Oct. 11, 1844, m. Martha May, living 1904, at Caldwell, Idaho.

vii. Daniel, b. Oct. 25, 1846, m. Martha Webb, living 1904 at Dallas, Mo.

viii. Cassandra, b. March 14, 1849, m. Geo. Douglass, living 1904 in Randolph Co., Mo.

ix. Nathan, b. Feb. 29, 1852, living 1904 in Warrensburg, Mo.

x. Sarah M., b. Feb. 3, 1854, m. W. F. Gordon, living 1904, 4210 Washington St., Kansas City, Mo.

xi. John, b. Oct. 1856, living 1904 Waldo, Mo.

xii. James, b. June 17, 1862, living 1904, Warrensburg, Mo.

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Compiled by F. A. Sampson, Secretary State Historical Society.

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Contents: Annual report; proceedings of second annual meeting of the Missouri Corn Growers' association; eighth annual meeting Improved Live Stock Breeders' association; the Louisiana Purchase Exposition; the fifteenth annual meeting of the Missouri State Dairy association; statistics; index.

Missouri State Board of Agriculture. Monthly Bulletin. Vol. IV and Vol V., 1904-1906, Columbia, Mo. (Vol. IV. No. 8, Jan., 1905, to Vol. V. No. 6, Nov., 1905, except Vol. V. No. 4, included in the period covered by this bibliography.)

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GAME AND FISH WARDEN.

Circulars, Sedalia, 1905. No. 2 (issued in advance of official term, on June 1, 1905.) To applicants for appointment as deputy game and fish wardens. 3 p. 7 x5 3-4 in. pap.

No. 3. Hunting licenses—of whom required—how obtained—etc. 3 p. 7x5 3-4 in. pap.

No. 4. June 23, 1905. To county clerks. 1 p. Q.

State Warden's construction of the game law in full. n. t. p., 4 p. Fol.

Game and Fish laws of the State of Missouri. J. H. Rodes, Game and Fish Warden. (Passed by Forty-third general assembly.) Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d., 16 p. O. pap.

Game and fish laws of the State of Missouri. Caused to be printed by J. H. Rodes, Game and Fish Warden. Act approved March 10, 1905. Sedalia, Sedalia Printing Company, n. d., 16 p. O. pap.

[First] annual report of the State Game and Fish Warden for the year ending December 31, 1905, by J. H. Rodes, State Game and Fish Warden. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 89. [3] p. illus. O. pap.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Laws of Missouri passed at the regular session of the Forty-third general asembly, begun and held at the City of Jefferson City, Wednesday, January 4, 1905. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d., 354 p. O. 1-2 sh.

Senate Journal of Forty-third general assembly, 1905. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 792 p. O. 1-2 sh.

House Journal of Forty-third general assembly, 1905. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 1154 p. O. 1-2 sh.

Message of Governor Alexander M. Dockery to the Forty-third general assembly of Missouri, 1905. Jefferson City. Tri-1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 15 p. O. pap.

Botschaft von Gouverneur Alexander M. Dockery an die 43. Gesetzgebende, Versammlung des Staates Missouri, Am. 4. Januar, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905, 14 p. O. pap.

Special message to the Forty-third general assembly on convict labor by Governor Alexander M. Dockery, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 5 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Special message to the Forty-third general assembly on Supreme Court building and convict labor, by Gov. Alexander M. Dockery, Jan. 9, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 3 p. O. pap.

Contained also in House Journal.

Inaugural address of Governor Joseph W. Folk to the Forty-third general asembly of the State of Misouri, January 9, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 16 p. O. pap.

Special mesage of Governor Joseph W. Folk to the Forty-third general asembly of Misouri, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. (Breeders' law, Portland Exposition and Soldiers' Memorial and Historical Building.) 7 p. O. pap.

Message—(Special message of Gov. Joseph W. Folk, March 9, 1905. Anti-bribery bill.) 5 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Appendix to House and Senate Journals of the Forty-third general asembly of the State of Missouri, 1905. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. O. 1-2 sh.

Contents: Message of Gov. Dockery, 15 p.; Special Message of Gov. Dockery on Convict labor, 5 p.; Inaugural address of Gov. Folk, 16 p.; Special message of Gov Folk, 7 p.; Report of Auditing Committee, 34 p.; Report of Visiting Committee, 164 p.; Biennial report of State Geologist, 56 p.; Fourth Biennial report of Federal Soldiers' Home, 32 p.; 4th Biennial report of Confederate Home, 36 p.; Biennial report of State Normal School, Kirksville, 52 p.; Biennial report of State Normal School, Warrensburg, 46 p.; Biennial report of State Normal School, Cape Girardeau, 42 p.; Eighth Biennial report State Industrial Home for girls, 39, p.; Eighth Biennial report of Missouri Training School for Boys, 30 p; Twenty-sixth Biennial report of State Hospital No. 1, 49 p.; Fifteenth Biennial report of State Hospital No. 2, 43 p.; Ninth Biennial report of State Hospital No. 3, 52 p.; Second Biennial report of State Hospital No. 4, 52 p.; Twenty-fourth Biennial report of Missouri School for the Blind, 22 p.; Biennial report of the State Factory Inspector, 60 p.; Biennial report of the State Penintentiary 266 p.; Twenty-fiifth Biennial report of the Missouri School for the deaf, 33 p.; Report of receipts and expenditures of Lincoln Institute, 15 p.; Biennial report of State Board of Mediation and Arbitration, 29 p.; Fourth Biennial report of State Board of Charities and Corrections, 118 p.; Third Biennial report of Missouri Colony for Feeble-Minded and Epileptic, 46 p.; Biennial report Board of Health, 25 p.; Report of Board of Visitors of the University of Missouri, 15 p.; Biennial report of Corporations, 5 p.; Report of the Conference of Judges, 5 p.; Report of Missouri Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, p.; 292 p.; Report of State Treasurer, 57 p.; Report of the State Auditor, 48 p.; Biennial report of the Fish Commission, 11 p.; Report of the State Librarian, 32 p.

Report of the Senate Committee on rules of the Forty-third general assembly, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 40 p. 3 7-8x7 in. pap.

Contained also in Senate Journal.

Report of the House Committee on rules of the Forty-third general assembly, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 41 p. 3 7-8x7 in. pap.

The last above with names of committees, members and employees. 64 p. 3 7-8 in. mor.

Report of the Auditing Committee to settle with the State Auditor and Treasurer, January, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 34 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Report of the Committee to visit State Institutions of Missouri, located elsewhere than at the seat of government, to the Forty-third general assembly. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 164 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Partial report of the Senate Committee appointed to investigate charges preferred against Thomas K. Neidringhaus, January 16, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 7 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Senate Journal.

Majority and Minority reports of the House Committee appointed to investigate charges preferred against Thomas K. Neidringhaus, January 17, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 87 p. O. pap.

Senate Standing Committees Forty-third general assembly. n. t. p. 3p.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Biennial report of the State Geologist to the Forty-third general assembly. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 56 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

The Geology of Moniteau county by F. B. Van Horn, with an introduction by E. R. Buckley. Vol III, 2nd series. Jefferson City. The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 104 p. maps, folders, illus, cl. and pap.

HEALTH, BOARD OF.

Biennial report of the Missouri State Board of Health to the Forty-third general assembly. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 25 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Bulletins of the Missouri State Board of Health. Vol. III, Kansas City, 1905.

Nos .1-10. (Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5 not seen.)

Nos. 7, 8, 9 were issued in one. No. 11 was Feb., 1906, and after a part were printed the number was changed Vol. IV, No. 1.

INDUSTRIAL HOME FOR GIRLS.

Eighth biennial report of board of managers of the State Industrial Home for Girls, Chillicothe, Mo., for the two years ending December 31, 1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 39 p. illus. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

INSANE STATE HOSPITAL NO. 1.

Twenty-sixth biennial report of State Hospital, No. 1, Fulton, Mo., to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 49 p. O. pap.

Contained also in the Appendix to Journals.

INSANE STATE HOSPITAL NO. 2.

Fifteenth biennial report of State Hospital No. 2, St. Joseph, Mo., to the general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 43 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

INSANE STATE HOSPITAL NO. 3.

Ninth biennial report of State Hospital No. 3, Nevada, Mo., to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 52 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

INSANE STATE HOSPITAL NO. 4.

Second biennial report of State Hospital No. 4. Farmington, Mo., to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 52 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to the Journals.

Second biennial report of the board of managers of State Hospital No. 4 at Farmington, Mo., for the years 1903 and 1904 to the Forty-third general assembly. Farmington, The Eagle Printery, n. d. 54 p. O. pap.

INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

Thirty-sixth annual report of the superintendent of the insurance department for the year ending December 31, 1904. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. lxxxiii, 770 p. O. cl.

Advance sheets were issued of the lxxxiii pages of above. O. pap.

Abstracts from statements of Missouri Town Mutual Fire Insurance Companies, December 31, 1904. W. D. Vandiver, superintendent. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 11 p. O. pap.

JUDGES, CONFERENCE OF.

Report of the Conference of Judges to point out uncertainties and incongruities in the statutes to Forty-third general assembly, January, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 5 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

LIBRARY, MISSOURI STATE.

Catalogue of the law department of the Missouri State Library, Thomas W. Hawkins, librarian, 1905. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 441 p. O. 1-2 mor.

Report of the State Librarian to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 34 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

LINCOLN INSTITUTE.

Report of receipts and expenditures on account of Lincoln Institute made by the board of regents for the years 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 15 p. o. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Thirty-fourth annual catalogue of Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City, Mo., 1905-1906. Jefferson City, Republican Print, n. d. 53 p. illus. o. pap.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION.

Report of the Missouri Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, held at St. Louis, Mo., 1904, February, 1905.

Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 292 p. O. pap.

Continued also in Appendix to Journals.

MEDITATION AND ARBITRATION.

Biennial report of the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration to the Forty-third general assembly, January, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 29 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

MINES AND MINE INSPECTION.

Eighteenth annual report of the Bureau of Mines and Mine Inspection, embracing reports on lead, zinc, coal and other mines, year 1904. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 479, xv. p. illus. O. cl.

NORMAL SCHOOLS.

First District, Kirksville.

Biennial report of the State Normal School (first district, Kirksville, Mo.) to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 52 p. o. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Biennial report of the board of regents of the first district Normal School, Kirksville, Missouri, to the Forty-third general assembly, January, 1905. Kirksville Democrat print, 1905. 62, [1] p. obl. illus. pap.

Also issued with cover title as Bulletin, vol. IV, No. 3, December, 1904.

Bulletin, vol. IV, No. 4, March, 1905. Summer School. [4] p. O. pap.

Bulletin, vol. V, No. 1. June, 1905. 110 p. illus. obl. pap.

Second District, Warrensburg.

Biennial report of the State Normal School (second district, Warrensburg,) to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 46 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to the Journals.

Biennial report of the board of regents of the State Normal School, second district, Warrensburg, Missouri, to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Warrensburg Star Press, 1905. 45 p. illus, O. pap.

Bulletin, Vol. IV, No. 2, Feb. 1905. Register of Alumni and Historic Notes. 67 p. illus. O. pap.

Bulletin, Vol. IV, No. 4, April, 1905. Summer bulletin. 8 p. O. pap.

Bulletin, Vol. V, No. 1, July, 1905. Thirty-fifth annual catalog and announcements for 1905-1906. 235, (2) p. illus. O. pap.

Third District, Cape Girardeau.

Biennial report of the State Normal School, Third district, Cape Girardeau, to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 42 p. illus. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Bulletins, Cape Girardeau. O.

Vol. 5, No. 3, [4] January, 1905. Nature Study Course. 39 p.

Vol. 5, No. 4, [5] March, 1905. Summer School bulletin. 13 p. illus. map.

Vol. 6, No. 1, June, 1905, [Thirty-second] Catalogue, Circular for 1905-1906. 96, [4] p. illus. O. pap.

Vol. 6, Nos. 2-3, Oct.-Dec. 1905. A teachers' course. [4] p. O. pap.

PENITENTIARY.

Biennial report of the Board of Inspectors, Wardens, Physician and Chaplain to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, 1905. 266 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Fifty-fifth report of the Public Schools of the State of Missouri school year ending June 30, 1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 124 p. illus. O. cl.

Revised courses of study for the rural and graded schools and for approved high schools in the State of Missouri, 1905. n. p., n. d. 99 pe. O. pap.

School law, 1905. Compulsory attendance law, (approved April 11, 1905.) n. t. p. 7 p. O.

Contains also opinion of attorney-general.

RAILROAD AND WAREHOUSE.

Thirtieth annual report of the Railroad and Warehouse Commisioners of the State of Missouri, year ending June 30, 1905. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 589, ix, p. O. 1-2 mor.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Official Manual of the State of Missouri for the years 1905-1906. Compiled and published by John S. Swanger, Secretary of State. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 581, x. p. O. cl.

Biennial report of corporations, 1903-1904. John E. Swanger, Secretary of State, Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 3, p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Roster of state and county officers of the State of Missouri, 1905. Compiled by John E. Swanger, Secretary of State. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 53 p. O. pap.

Fifth biennial report on examinations of the state banks of Missouri to the Forty-third general assembly, 1905, by Sam B. Cook, Secretary of State. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 399 p. O. cl.

Brief of bills passed by the Forty-third general assembly. Prepared by John E. Swanger, Secretary of State. n. t. p. 5 p. O. pap.

TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS.

Eighth biennial report of the Missouri Training School for boys, Boonville, Mo., 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 30 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

TREASURER.

Biennial report of the State Treasurer of the State of Missouri to the Forty-third general assembly. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 57 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

Biennial report of the Board of Curators to the Forty-third general assembly for the two years ending December 31, 1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 349 p. O. pap.

President's annual report to the Board of Curators, 1904-1905. Columbia, E. W. Stephens Pub. Co., 1905. 122. [1] p. O. pap.

Bulletins of the University of Missouri,, Vol. VI, Columbia, 1905.

No. 1. January. The University of Missouri. 51 p. illus.

No. 2. February. 63 d. Catalogue, 1904-1905. 345 p.

No. 3. March. Summer session for 1905. 25 p.

No. 4. April. Department of law, announcement, 1905-1906. 23 p.

No. 5. May. Academic department. Circular of information, 1905-1906. 16 p.

No. 6. June. Teachers college announcement, 1905-1906. 4. p.

No. 6. June. Department of medicine announcement, 1905-1906. 16 p.

No. 7. July. General announcement, 1905-1906. 16 p.

No. 8. August. School of engineering. Circular of information, 1905-1906. 26 p.

No. 9. September. College of Agriculture announcement, 1905-1906. 20 p.

No. 10. October. College of agriculture. Short winter courses. 16 p. illus.

No. 11. November. Obligations and opportunities of the churches. 4 p.

No. 12. December. Announcement of the second semeister. 5 p.

Thirty-fourth annual catalogue of the School of Mines and Metallurgy, a department of the University of Missouri, Rolla, Mo., 1905. Rolla, Herald-Democrat print, n. d. 114 p. illus. O. pap.

UNIVERSITY VISITORS.

Report of the board of visitors of the University of Missouri to the Forty-third General Assembly, Jefferson City. Tribune Printing Company, 1905, 15 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Bibliography of Publications of the State Historical Society of Missouri and of papers read before it.

Constitution and by-laws of the State Historical Society of Missouri. n. t. p. 7 p.

First biennial report of the Executive Committee for the two years ending December 31, 1902. Columbia, 1903. 50 p.

Second biennial report of the Executive Committee for the two years ending December 31, 1904. Columbia, 1905. 45 p.

Two Missouri Historians. By H. E. Robinson, Maryville, Mo., 1902. 20 p. Read at the first annual meeting, December 5, 1901.

Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Missouri at its second annual meeting held January 22, 1903, at Columbia. Palmyra, 1903. 85 p.

The papers read at the above meeting were also printed in the Tenth Winter meeting of the Missouri Press Association, Jan., 1903.

Early history of railroads in Missouri, by W. J. Thornton, railroad editor Globe-Democrat.

This paper read at the second annual meeting was also published in the Globe-Democrat, of St. Louis.

It was also published in the "official proceedings" St. Louis Railway Club, Feb. 13, 1903, vol. vii. No. 10, pp. 7-22.

Personal recollections of some of Missouri's eminent statesmen and lawyers. Address of Hon. Chas. P. Johnson, delivered before the State Historical Society and Press Association of Missouri, at Columbia, Mo., January 22, 1903. St. Louis, n. d. 32 p.

This was one of the papers of the second annual meeting. It was also published in the Globe-Democrat, of St. Louis, Jan. 25, 1903.

A decade in Missouri Politics—1860 to 1870—from a Republican viewpoint. Address of Judge H. C. McDougall, of Kansas City, delivered before the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia, March 8th, 1904. [Kansas City, n. d.] 18 p.

Biographical sketch of Col. Benjamin Whiteman Grover.

(Paper by George S. Grover, at annual meeting of the Society.) n. p., n. d. 14 p.

Thomas Hart Benton, the great Missourian and his times reviewed by Hon. Thomas Jefferson Clark Fagg, formerly Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri. [Louisiana, Mo.], 1905. 12 p.

An act to appropriate money for the construction of a fireproof building to be known as the Missouri Soldiers' Memorial building, for the use of the State Historical museum and for the accommodation of the libraries and historical collections of the University of Missouri and the State Historical Society of Missouri. n. t. p. [Columbia, Mo.] 3 p.

A plan for a worthy memorial to the brave soldiers of Missouri. n. t. p. [Columbia, 1905.] 4 p.

Missouri Soldiers' Memorial building to be devoted to historical museum and library purposes. [Maryville, 1905.] 8 p.

Radisson and Hennepin in the Mississippi Valley, by Millard Fillmore Stipes, Jamesport, Mo., 1906. 25 p.

Read before the Society at its annual meeting, Feb. 8th, 1906.

The Historical Society of Missouri. Circular No. 1, 3 p; Circular No. 2, 2 p.; Circular No. 3, 4 p.

Catalogue of publications by Missouri authors and periodicals of Missouri of 1903, in World's Fair exhibit in Missouri building. Compiled by F. A. Sampson, Secretary State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., 1904. 4 o. 47 p.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN MISSOURI.

KANSAS CITY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The society was organized December 17, 1895, under the name of "The Early Settlers," of Kansas City and vicinity. January 5, 1897, the name was changed to "The Early Settlers and Historical Society of Kansas City, Missouri," and again in January, 1906, the name was changed to the first above. Excellent historical papers have been presented to the society and will soon be published by it.

The officers for 1906 are: Wallace Laws, President; W. L. Campbell, First Vice President; James Kennedy, Second Vice President; Wm. H. H. Tainter, Secretary; Mrs. Carrie Wesltake Whitney, Corresponding Secretary; J. A. Bachman, Treasurer.

THE MISSOURI BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Organized October 24, 1885, at Missouri Baptist General Association at Carthage, Mo. The objects are to preserve data relating to the Baptists in Missouri or elsewhere and also historical data of other religious bodies.

The present officers are: President, J. C. Maple, D. D., Armstrong, Mo.; Vice President, R. Q. Duncan, Montgomery City: Secretary and Treasurer, H. E. Truex, D. D:, Mexico; Librarian, R. P. Rider, Liberty. Managers, J. T. M. Johnston, J. W. Million, W. O. Anderson, C. M. Truex. Headquarters, William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE MISSOURI CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—Organized March 24, 1906. John Gillies, President; J. J. Bentley, John T. Pierce, J. H. Poland, O. S. Middleton and W. F. Burris, Vice Presidents; E. J. Gale, Recording Secretay; C. N. Wood, Corresponding Secretary; W. F. Null, Treasurer and Librarian; Trustees, Laymen, Ira K. Alderman, S. G. Brock, James Bragg, R. D. Cramer and George W. Moore. Ministers, Grant A. Robbins, R. L. Thompson, J. D. Mendenhall, W. C.

Harper and H. H. Newman. Offices, Missouri Wesleyan College, Cameron, Mo.

ST. LOUIS CONFERENCE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, M. E. CHURCH.—Organized 1899. Rev. Dr. O. M. Stewart, President, Rev. M. A. Curl, 2123 Clifton avenue, St. Louis, Secretary; O. M. Stewart, Wm. Stephens, H. B. Foster, T. H. Hagerty, D. W. Crow and M. L. Curl, Managers.

The society is auxiliary to the State Historical Society.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS.—Instituted in 1866, and now possessing extensive library and archaeological collections and historic portraits and manuscripts.

The present officers are Cyrus A. Peterson, President; W. K. Bixby, First Vice President; David J. Bushnell, Second Vice President; Charles P. Pettus, Secretary; Albert T. Terry, Treasurer; Mary Louise Dalton, Librarian.

Publications: Collections.

PIKE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Organized December 31, 1904, with ex-Lieut. Gov. R. A. Campbell, President; M. S. Goodman and Judge Thos. J. C. Fagg, Vice Presidents, and Dr. Clayton Keith, Secretary.

The officers for 1906 are, Thos. J. C. Fagg, President; M. S. Goodman and Charles Yale, Vice Presidents; Clayton Keith, Secretary; E. L. Hesser, Treasurer; R. R. Rowley, Librarian and Custodian.

The special object of the society is to establish a historical library department in the public library at Louisiana, Mo., with records and relics of Pike county.

The society is auxiliary to the State Historical Society.

PILOT KNOB MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.—Organized in 1903, to collect and preserve historical data bearing on the battle of Pilot Knob and the Price raid in Missouri in 1864. It holds annual meetings on the battle field, September 27th, the anniversary of the battle.

The present officers are David Murphy, President, St. Louis; H. C. Wilkinson, Secretary, Piedmont, Mo.; C. A. Peterson, Corresponding Secretary, St. Louis; Henry S. Carroll, Treasurer, St. Louis; also seven Vice Presidents and seven Assistant Secretaries.

Publications: Annual Reports.

PETTIS COUNTY OLD SETTLERS ASSOCIATION.—Organized October 7, 1905, with residents of Pettis county who have resided in Missouri fifty years. Officers: W. W. Herold, President; Peter Courtney, Vice President; M. A. Ayres, Secretary.

The Association is auxiliary to the State Historical Society.

NOTES.

The Historical Society of Linn county, Iowa, has published Proceedings, Vol. 1, 1904-05, which contains a portrait and life of Senator Lewis Fields Linn, by Rev. Dr. E. R. Burkhalter, At a time when Iowa was a territory and consequently without representation in the U. S. Senate, Senator Linn was as active in looking after the interests of the people of that territory as if it had been a part of Missouri, and he was called by them the "Iowa Senator." That state named a county for him, and one of the active historical societies of the state is in that county.

Another local historical society in Iowa, the Madrid Historical Society, has issued a publication that is of special interest to Missourians. It is a pamphlet of several articles by C. L. Lucas, of Madrid, Iowa, one of which is a sketch of "Col. Nathan Boone, the man after whom a county and a river in Iowa were named." Many of the states have a Boone county, all of which were named for Daniel Boone, except that in Iowa which was named for Nathan, the youngest son of Daniel.

His father came to Missouri in 1795, but Nathan did not come till 1800. From 1804 to 1812 he was employed surveying government land in what is now St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren counties, and in 1807, he, with his brother, Daniel, surveyed a road from St. Charles to Boone's Lick in Howard county, a road that is still in use. In 1820 he finished a large two-story stone house in St. Charles county, and in this house his father, Daniel Boone, died September 20, 1820,. The house is pictured in the publication above named. Nathan was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, and was in the U. S. army from 1832 to 1853. He then moved to a farm near Springfield, Mo., and died there in 1863.

Historical Sketch of Wakanda Lodge of Masons at Carrollton, Mo., with biographies of some early Masons by Dr. H. M. Pettit, is an interesting contribution to local history and biography and should be imitated in other localities.

The State Historical Society, of Missouri, has almost a full collection of all genealogical works by Missourians. The latest one issued is the "Genealogies of the Lewis and Kindred Families," by John Meriwether McAllister, of Atlanta, Ga., and Mrs. Laura Boulton Tandy, of Columbia, the book being issued from the Stephens press at Columbia. While the work was in press, Mr. McAllister died, and the publication was thrown upon Mrs. Tandy alone.

This genealogy of a prominent family of Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri will be of interest and of value to the many persons of the principal family included in the work, and to the many other persons of the various families that are connected with it.

Confederate publications are much sought after by collectors. As Missouri was never completely under Confederate control very little was published that would come under this title, but the State Historical Society has an interesting item of this kind—"The Missouri Army Argus," Vol. 1, No. 3, published at Greenfield, Dade county, November 22, 1861, by the Confederate army, then at that place. J. W. Tucker was editor and Wm. F. Wisely, army printer. The statement is made that it was published by the state expressly for the use of the army. It contains Gen. Sterling Price's address to his army, his proclamation to the army, his proclamation to the people of central and north Missouri, correspondence relating to exchange of prisoners, several acts of the legislature and "Dixie," a poem by Albert G. Pike. The paper is of three columns, four pages, and of great rarity.

The University of Cincinnati has published in University Studies, The Early Exploration of Louisiana, by Isaac J. Cox, issued in March, 1906. The period comprised under the term "early exploration" is the four and one-half years from the inception of the Lewis and Clark expedition to the return of Pike from his expedition, and the publication includes in addition to these three names those of Hunter, Dunbar, Freeman and Sibley.

THE MISSOURI FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

Last spring certain teachers and students of the University of Missouri came together to discuss the advisability of forming a society for the study of folk-lore in the state. The suggestion came originally from the Secretary of the American Folk-Lore Society and Associate Editor of the Journal of American Folk-Lore, Mr. W. W. Newell, whose attention had been called to Missouri as a folk-lore field by the work of Missouri students in collecting popular ballads. The result of the meeting was that a constitution was drafted and copies of it, accompanied by a brief statement of the aim of the proposed organization, sent to a number of persons who it was believed would join in the undertaking. The response has been encouraging. Sometime in the winter, probably in January, the first meeting of the Society will be held. At this meeting plans will be perfected for carrying on the work of collecting and comparing folk-lore material in a systematic fashion, and papers will be read by folk-lore students from different parts of the state.

Folk-lore as a study has much in common with local history. Its sources are much the same—local tradition and domestic records—and the same impulse of local patriotism may lead to one or the other. Yet their material and their aim are sufficiently distinct. History deals with occurrences, with facts and dates, with what people have done; folk-lore deals with the products of popular imagination, with ritual, social customs, songs and tales—what the people have fancied or believed. In the words of a competent authority, it is "that body of oral tradition which is handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. It includes the myths, legends, popular beliefs, folk-songs and folk-tales of all countries." Thus folk-lore takes cognizance of much that history, at least in the ordinary acceptation of the term, overlooks; and although it finds its material in the present it lights a stage of human development that lies back of historical record, or aspects of development that would otherwise escape our scrutiny. It is this consideration that has led to the formation of a distinct branch of scholarship, co-operating with history but seeking its special material and handling it in its own way. The Missouri Folk-Lore Society seeks the co-operation of all—individuals, clubs, societies—that are interested in the social condition of Missouri, past or present, and will itself co-operate with them.

Anyone who is interested in the movement may communicate with the secretary pro tem, Prof. H. M. Belden, of Columbia, who will give detailed information as to the plans of the society.

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CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS OF MISSOURI, 1865-1875.*

Since Missouri assumed the form and exercised some of the functions of a State government in 1820, it has held four constitutional conventions and adopted three constitutions in the following chronogical order: 1. In St. Louis, the seat of government, and in the "Mansion House," a hotel, on June 12, 1820, consisting of 41 delegates elected by the qualified voters of the 15 counties then organized, David Barton, of St. Louis, president. The constitution, called "The Barton Constitution," took effect by authority of the convention, (which adjourned on July 19, 1820) and was not submitted to a vote of the people. 2. At the August election of 1845, pursuant to an act of the Legislature, 66 delegates were elected to a convention by the 28 districts into which the State was divided, to remodel the constitution. They met in Jefferson City on November 17, 1845, elected Judge Robert W. Wells, of Cole, president, formulated a new constitution, which they submitted to a vote of the people, and adjourned *sine die* January 14, 1846. The election was held in August of the same year, and the people rejected the constitution by a majority of 8,460—the vote being: for the constitution, 25,215; against it 33,675; total, 58,890. No returns were received from Gentry, Knox, Ozark and Pulaski counties. David M. Hickman and John F. Stone were delegates from Boone. 3. The convention of 1865 framed a constitution afterward adopted by the people. 4. The constitution of 1875 was adopted by the people, and is now the organic law of the State.

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*Read before the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia Missouri, March 8, 1904.

Both of the two last bodies and the constitutions they formed will now be considered more in detail—in truth they constitute the warp and woof, the paramount concern of this paper.

I was a member of both conventions, a fact that can not be affirmed of any other citizen. During my service in each, and for many before and after it, I was editor of the Statesman newspaper at Columbia, and am indebted to my reports to that journal and *Switzler's History of Missouri* subsequently published in a large volume for much of what follows.

Convention of 1865.

This body and its extraordinary proceedings were outgrowths of the civil war. The purpose to hold it, as well as the policies it ordained, were conceptions of the war period. Hence they were hostile to the methods and the fraternal spirit of peace; intolerant, malicious, ragged of edge and revolutionary.

The proposition to hold a convention for the triple purpose of amending the Constitution to emancipate the slaves; to preserve in purity the elective franchise to "loyal citizens; and such other amendments as might be deemed essential to the promotion of the public good," was adopted by the General Assembly and approved by the governor February 13, 1864, in the midst of the war, and ratified at the polls at the November election of the same year by nearly 30,000 majority; and 66 delegates to the convention were elected at the same time.

A general canvass of the subject was of course not attempted in the midst of the intolerance, intimidation, and violence which prevailed. The prevalence of armed men, the raids and outrages of predatory bands of guerrillas and the bitter feeling engendered by the bloody and fratricidal war which prevailed, very largely repressed the activity of political orators who were opposed to the convention and kept from the polls many of those who did not favor the proposition.

Therefore it carried, and the convention met in the Hall of Mercantile Library, St. Louis, on January 6, 1865, and organized by the election of Arnold Krekel, of St. Charles, as president.

The first subject which engaged the attention of the convention was Emancipation; and before the appointment of the standing committees which it had been made the duty of the president to name, or of a special committee of Emancipation, several ordinances were introduced to provide for it. Little delay, however, was experienced before this committee was announced, with George P. Strong, a lawyer of St. Louis, chairman, and all the ordinances on the subject were referred to it.

On January 11, 1865, the fifth day of the session, Mr. Strong reported from the committee and recommended the adoption of "An ordinance abolishing slavery in Missouri," as follows:

"That hereafter, in this State, there shall be neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free."

The introduction, consideration and passage of the ordinance were forshadowed by much preparation, which in fact largely partook of the spectacular in "pomp and circumstane." A large number of citizens who were in sympathy with the radical purposes of the convention, together with soldiers in uniform and colonels, majors and captains in glittering array, crowded the hall. "The Hutchison Family," a celebrated Abolition troop of vocalists then visiting the city, were invited to occupy the platform with the officers of the convention and to invoke the contributory magic of vocal music in aid of the patriotic ardor of the great occasion.

Doubtless the chief and most active promoter of scenes so imposing imagined that the passage of the ordinance would be prominently registered in history and gratefully cherished in the memories of the slaves of Missouri as an event, the anniversary of which would be annually celebrated by large assemblies, parades, banquets, songs, revelry and speech making.

How vain and disappointing, however, are often the fondest hopes of the most wise, otherwise, and patriotic! The anniversary of the passage of the "Ordinance of Emancipation," January 11, is never observed. Probably not one in a hundred of the descendants of the former slaves of Missouri ever heard of it. And why? Not because it did not pass the convention, for it was adopted by a vote of 60 yeas to 4 nays.

Commenting upon its passage in the Statesman of January 20, 1865, I said in part:

"Missouri is a free state! The rebellion made it so, for rebellion, civil war and slavery can not co-exist. Thus we and other Union men spoke and warned the people in 1861. Our utterances were then unheeded. Now our predictions are history. Long before the convention assembled, we expressed the conviction that slavery was practically dead in Missouri—existed only in name. It required no ordinance to sound the knell of its departure. Before the adoption of the ordinance the slaves, old and young, male and female, could go at pleasure with about as much freedom as since. Thousands of them did go."

The ordinance did not emancipate them. Therefore its adoption on January 11, 1865, is not such a momentous event in the State's annals as to insure it against oblivion.

Slavery in Missouri was abolished without it by the inexorable and irrepealable logic of the civil war; and all the ordinance could accomplish was to record the fact in legal phrase and by a tribunal which *prima facie* had jurisdiction of the subject . As a law it had little significance. As a fact it existed without the law.

The convention had not been very long in session before it became apparent that some of the principal and most radical leaders were determined to give its proceedings a wider sweep and deeper cut than generally contemplated. Mere "amendments" to the organic law were too tame and unsatisfactory, especially to the ablest man of their number, Charles D. Drake, of St. Louis, the Ajax Telemon of the convention in whose bonnet was even then buzzing the ambition to occuy a seat in the Senate of the United States. Under his radical and aggressive leadership a thoroughly remodeled and new constitution was determined upon and the purpose was finally accomplished.

Many of the ablest and most highly honored citizens of the state, both federal and confederate, seriously questioned the wisdom of reforms so sweeping and strenuously opposed them. They denied in the first place the authority of the convention, under the law calling it into existence, to ordain and submit to the people an entire new constitution. Moreover they maintained, with reasons which were outgrowths of sincere and well-grounded fears, that delegates fresh from scenes of bitter strife and the turbulence of civil war, and holding their sessions while that war was in progress, were illy fitted for the dispassionate deliberation and statesmanlike conclusions demanded by the gravity of the crisis.

Nevertheless the convention proceeded with its wholesale work of reform and revolution, and through the instrumentality of committee reports and inflammatory and excitable bloody-shirt oratory evolved new and revolutionary provisions in almost every article of the fundamental law.

Thomas B. Harris, of Callaway, and Wm. F. Switzler, of Boone, were delegates to the convention from the A, B, C district—Audrain, Boone and Callaway.

The time limitations prescribed for the papers of this occasion forbid even brief mention and certainly all discussions of a tithe of the extraordinary, malevolent and partisan enactments of the convention. The "ousting ordinance" was of the number, by which all the judges of the supreme court, circuit courts and of all courts of record, including all judges and clerks of county courts, circuit attorneys, sheriffs and county recorders elected by the people and aggregating in number perhaps one thousand were declared deprived, and authority given the radical governor, Thomas C. Fletcher, then in office, to appoint their successors; with the further mandate that each of the appointees before assuming office should take the oath of loyalty prescribed by the second section of the ordinance on that subject passed by what is known as "The Gamble Convention," June 10, 1862.

On the day of the final vote on the ordinance abolishing slavery and while said ordinance was pending, Mr. Knight G. Smith, of Mercer, introduced a resolution appointing a committee of five "to ascertain whether there is any member, or members, elected to this convention who have, in any way, identified themselves in favor of the rebellion, and report as soon as possible." The committee appointed was: Mr. Smith, Lewis H. Weatherby, of De Kalb, Dr. Wm. H. Folmsbee, of Davies, Alexander H. Martin, of Lincoln, and Reeves Leonard, of Howard. This resolution was regarded by many as a bluff, as a scare-crow to frighten into concurrence with the majority any who might feel a spirit of resistance to the alleged purposes of the more radical leaders of the convention. It was later found, however, that some of those who were the most noisy and boastful of their "loyalty" reposed on sleeping volcanoes which if disturbed by uncovering the records they had made in 1861 or earlier, might cause eruptions of fire and lava, and odors of "sympathies with the South" of disagreeable and embarrassing fragrance.

Right of Suffrage—Oath of Loyalty.

The article of the constitution (Article II, section 3), which prescribed the qualifications of voters, very naturally excited paramount interest in the convention and profound and universal concern among the people. It vitally affected the liberties of all the citizens of the state, of thousands and tens of thousands of those who had made the state what it was, the heads of families and taxpayers who owned the state, and old pioneers and their descendants who by service and sacrifice had laid the foundations of its prosperity and proud achievements. This article proposed to abolish their right to participate at the polls in the choice of those who were to make, expound and administer the laws for their government—in short its purpose was to deny the right of self government to a large portion of the people by ignominiously driving them from the ballot.*

The time-limit so abridges this paper as to cut out the history of Article II. The oath provided for voters, holders of any office of honor, trust or profit, teachers in educational institutions or in any common or other school, no difference whether such teacher be a male or female, and ministers of the gospel, was the most remarkable and indefensible legislation of the kind known to the history of any free state, so-called, on the face of the globe. It fills a page of an ordinary law book; is the longest sentence in the English language to be found in any volume of ancient or modern times of which I have knowledge; is iron-clad and expurgatory; conceived in a spirit of malice and revenge; at war with the spirit of conciliation and peace, and (as I denounced it on the floor of the convention) "the consummation of a dire conspiracy against the rights and peace of the people."

Yet on April 1, 1865, the oath was adopted, 30 to 7, and on the eighth day of the same month the constitution itself as a whole was passed—yeas, 38; noes, 13. On April 10th the convention adjourned *sine die.*

An election was held on June 6, 1865, and the constitution was ratified by the people: yeas, 43,670; noes, 41,808. Majority for it, 1,862. Whole number of votes cast (including soldiers' votes), 85,478. The constitution went into effect, July 4, 1865.

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*In 1860 the total number of votes cast for governor in Boone county was 2,656. In 1868, under the disfranchisements of the "Draconian Code" and the manipulations of the three partisan county registrars only 410 citizens were allowed to vote and Gen. Grant's majority over Horatio Seymour for president was 6.

It would be unjust to the integrity of this history of this extraordinary constitution were it not recorded that it contained many wise and conservative provisions having no reference to suffrage, among which may be mentioned Article IX on Education. But this and some others were overshadowed and lost to view during the canvass by the abnormal, revolutionary and more drastic enactments.

Convention of 1875.

The reign of the constitution of 1865 was "of few days and full of trouble"—only ten years., whereas its predecessor was the law of the land for nearly a half century. On May 5, 1875, a new convention to revise the state constitution assembled in the hall of representatives in the state capital. Sixty-eight members were elected to the body. In several noteworthy respects it was perhaps the most remarkable parliamentary assemblage known to the history of Missouri. That it was among the ablest, most industrious and the most non-partisan will not be questioned. Partisans and party policies were unknown and unmentioned. Yet before the final adjournment it was ascertained that the convention consisted of sixty democrats, six republicans and two liberals —the republicans being Malcomb McKillop, of Atchison, T. J. Johnson, of Nodaway, Charles D. Eitzen, of Gasconade, and Henry T. Mudd and George H. Shields, of St. Louis, The Liberals were Robert W. Fyan, of Webster, and Louis Gottschalk, of St. Louis. All the remainder were democrats.

Wm. F. Switzler, of Columbia, and John F. Rucker, of Sturgeon, represented the district of Audrain, Callaway and Boone counties.

As the law authorizing its existence provided, the secretary of state, Michael K. McGrath, called the convention to order and presided until a permanent organization was effected by the election of a president and other officers. After the report from the committee on credentials had been made and adopted and the oath of office administered to the members, nominations for president were in order and were called for by the secretary of state. Strangely enough none were made.

They were again called for with the same result. He then ordered a call of the roll, with this result: For president—Waldo P. Johnson 17, Nathaniel W. Watkins 13, E. H. Norton 12, Wm. F. Switzler 10, James O. Broadhead 7. None of those voted for were candidates and some of them thus announced after the first ballot. On the sixth ballot Mr. Johnson received a majority of the votes cast and was declared elected. Mr. Watkins was then elected vice president by acclamation. Rev. Dr. Wm. M. Prottsman opened the convention by prayer.

A thorough revision of the entire organic law from the bill of rights to miscellaneous provisions inclusive was made.

Early in the session Judge Washington Adams, of Cooper, introduced in pamphlet form an entire constitution, a copy of which I have preserved.

The Bill of Rights—Judge T. T. Gantt, of St. Louis, chairman of the committee—occupied much time and was a theme of exhaustive discussion. Section 3 on local self government, 7 on religion, 18 on officers giving personal attention to their duties and 20 concerning taking private property for public use, are new.

The legislative department, Article IV, was much debated, and many of the sections in regard to legislative proceedings are new and of vital importance to the people. This is true of the sections from 25 to 44 inclusive which, summarized, provide that no law shall be passed except by bill; that no bill, except appropriation bills, shall contain more than one subject; that all amendments adopted shall be printed with the engrossed bill before its passage; that no bill shall become a law unless on its final passage the vote be taken by yeas and nays; that no law, except the general appropriation act, shall take effect until 90 days after final adjournment unless an emergency clause be enacted by two-thirds vote of all the members elected to each house, and that before a bill is signed by the presiding officer of each house it shall be read at length in the hearing of the members. Henry C. Brokmeyer, of St. Louis, was chairman of the committee and the people of Missouri are chiefly indebted to him for many of the provisions enacted. The subjects of representation and apportionment were referred to a special committee of thirteen of which Judge E. H. Norton, of Platte, was chairman, and they developed great diversity of views and occasioned protracted and exciting discussion. Despite all opposition, however, county representation was maintained. It found a place in the first constitution of the state in 1820, known as "the Barton Constitution," and in "the Drake Constitution" of 1865. The argument that it recognized representation of county and district subdivisions of territory, regardless of population, did not avail to change or interdict it.

Article V, executive department, Edward McCabe, of Marion, chairman of the committee, made the sessions of the general assembly biennial and the gubernatorial term was changed from two to four years and the governor rendered ineligible to re-election as his own successor.

In the judicial department, Article VI, Washington Adams, of Cooper, chairman of committee, many new and important provisions were enacted, among them that the term of judges of the supreme court was fixed at ten years; the St. Louis Court of Appeals of three judges was established to hold office for twelve years; also five circuit court judges, for term of six years—all elected by the people.

Revenue and Taxation, Article X, Wm. H. Letcher, of Saline, chairman of committee. This article engaged earnest and protracted investigation by the committee and convention and many new and very important sections were adopted. Among them (Sec. 8) that the state tax, exclusive of the tax to pay the bonded debt of the state, shall not exceed 20 cents on the $100, and shall not exceed 15 cents whenever the taxable property of the state amounts to $900,000,000. Also (Secs. 11 and 12) the taxing and debt-contracting powers of the legislature and of counties, cities, towns and all other municipalities were hedged about by effective safeguards and limitations. Great increase in the population of the state and of its taxable wealth and the extinction of the state indebtedness and municipal debts as well, have impressed many intelligent citizens with the conviction that we have outgrown these limitations and that they ought to be at least partially relaxed.

The committee of Education (Article XI), of which Mr. Switzler, of Boone, was made chairman, proceeded with diligence to the discharge of the important duties assigned to it. The committee consisted of the following: W. F. Switzler, chairman; Jacob Pulitzer, of St. Louis, George H. Shields, of St. Louis, G. W. Carleton, of Pemiscot, H. V. McKee, of Lincoln, D. C. Allen, of Clay, and W. H. Letcher, of Saline. Afterwards Albert Todd, of St. Louis, was added. The free public school system stood in the front rank of the committee's deliberations. Provisions for the increase and preservation of state and county funds for its maintenance were topics of earnest thought and solicitude, and received recognition in the article on education adopted. Believing that higher education was positively essential to the most successful dissemination of the lower or common, and intermediate, the interests of the State University were not neglected nor undervalued. Among other things it was made the duty of the general assembly to "aid and maintain the State University now established with its present departments"—among its departments then and now being the Agricultural College and School of Mines, and the departments of law and medicine. Severally and collectively these are to be aided and maintained by the legislature, the policy indicated being among the sworn duties of the members of each house. The number of curators was fixed at nine, which being inlaid in the constitution is placed beyond the whims of biennial changes by the Legislature to subserve personal or party purposes, to which the number constituting the board was exposed during all the previous history of the institution.

The third section ordained that "Separate free public schools shall be established for the education of children of African descent."

On August 2, 1875, after the adoption of the constitution as a whole by a vote of yeas, 60; noes, none; absent, 8, the convention adjourned *sine die*. On October 30 of the same year the people ratified it at the polls: yeas, 91,205; against it, 14,517; majority, 76,688; and on November 30, 1875, it became the supreme law of the state and (with the exception of amendments since adopted) remains such to this day.

Three competent stenographers were employed by the convention to report in full its proceedings and its debates and it was done, but the Legislature has never made an appropriations for its publication. The report is on file in manuscript in the office of the Secretary of State.

W. F. SWITZLER.

THE SHACKELFORD AMENDMENT.*

The subject of this paper is the amendment presented by me, to the resolution presented by the Committee on Resolutions, in the Constitutional Convention of 1860-1861.

The amendment reads as follows to the fifth resolution:

"And it is the opinion of this convention that the cherished desire to preserve the country and restore fraternal feelings would be promoted by the withdrawal of the federal troops from such parts of the seceded states where there is danger of a collision between the federal and state forces." This resolution was by common consent afterwards changed in phraseology to read as follows:

"And, in order to the restoring of harmony and fraternal feeling between the different sections, we would recommend the policy of withdrawing the federal troops from the forts within the borders of the seceding states where there is danger of collision between the state and federal troops."

Before proceeding to discuss the motives which prompted the presentation of this amendment, it may be well to allude to the two antagonistic constructions of the constitution of the United States in regard to the relations of the several states to the government of the United States.

The one may be considered as embodied in the speech of Edward Everett on the amendment of Mr. McDuffie, of South Carolina, to the constitution of the United States in March, 1826. (1) "The present government of the United States is a national government, not, (like the old one), a confederacy of states. The president is the president of the people; the representatives, the representatives of the people; the judiciary, the judiciary of the people; and the senate, the only branch which represents the states as such. Though the present constitution was formed by compact between states equally sovereign, it is not itself a compact between states retaining an equal share of the sovereignity, as was the case with the former confederation."

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*Read before the State Historical Society of Missouri, at Columbia, February, 1906.

1. *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, page 85, vol. 9.

The other doctrine is contained in the resolutions of the legislature of South Carolina, presented to congress January 11, 1833. (2) The fourth resolution proclaimed the following doctrine:

Resolved, "That each State of the Union has the right whenever it may deem such a course necessary for the preservation of its liberty or vital interest, to secede from the Union. And that there is no constitutional power in the general government, much less in the executive department of that government, to retain such state by force in the Union."

Let it be remembered that at this time there were no internal revenue taxes and the expenses of the government were borne by the levy of import duties. The state of South Carolina claimed the right to object to the payment of these import duties. This act of the state of South Carolina called forth the proclamation of President Andrew Jackson. (3) A majority of the convention of 1860 adhered to the doctrine announced in the proclamation as follows:

"The right of the people of a single state to absolve themselves, at will and without the consent of the other states, from these most solemn obligations, and to hazard the liberties and happiness of the millions composing the Union, can not be acknowledged. Such authority is believed to be utterly repugnant both to the principles upon which the general government is constituted and to the objects it is expressly formed to attain."

In view of the general character of Andrew Jackson, no one will accuse him of lowering the standard of the Union of States or of shrinking from a due enforcement of the laws. No one doubted that he had the right, in view of his constitutional

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2. *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, page 12, vol. 12.
3. *Debates of Congress*, page 13, vol. 12.

obligations, to exert the power of the government to protect his officers in the collecting of the duties, and leave to the judiciary the province of indicating the violations of law for treason.

Instead of sending his soldiers to South Carolina, he put his collectors on board of ships outside the harbors, and thus collected the duties.

The same state of affairs existed in 1860, except that there was a small number of soldiers at Fort Sumpter, who were powerless under existing circumstances to enforce the collection of customs, but were only a menace to the citizens of the insurgent state. I had kept in touch with the people of the South through a brother residing in Tennessee. I was informed that the people of the South were far from being a unit in favor of secession. Hence I was of the opinion that war might be averted by removing troops from places where there might be a pretext to attack them, and thus give the people an opportunity to recede from the position forced upon them by the leaders in this movement, so far reaching in disastrous results.

The convention had a right to hope and believe that the same result, which followed the action of General Jackson, would follow the action of congress, in the resolutions of Felix Grundy, who moved a substitute for the resolutions of John C. Calhoun. (4) One of these resolutions thus calmly announces the power of congress:

Resolved, "That attempts to obstruct or prevent the execution of the several acts of congress imposing duties on imports, whether by ordinances of conventions or legislative enactments, are not warranted by the constitution and are dangerous to the political institutions of the country."

The members of the convention well knew that the tiger, when he has once snuffed blood, becomes unrestrained, uncontrollable. We knew that when the "dogs of war" were unloosed, a terrible struggle would ensue.

The advice of the Missouri convention was not heeded by the general government. The appeal of Alexander F.

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4. *Debates of Congress*, page 24, vol. 12.

Stephens, of Georgia, to the sober second thought of the people was disregarded by the Southern people. The hopes of the members of the convention were in vain. The United States troops were retained at Fort Sumpter. The Southern states hoped to fire the Southern heart by the attack and capture of the Fort. But, alas! the hostile act of the Southern troops acted as a boomerang and aroused the patriotic people of the other states, and it was determined to coerce the seceded states to an obedience to the federal laws.

A short review of the condition of public sentiment in the Southern States just prior to the secession movement may not be inappropriate. Thomas Jefferson, who was par excellence the greatest adherent for the protection of individual liberty, had promulgated the opinion that human slavery was wrong in the abstract ,and that it was the duty of the government to rid itself of the evil as soon as possible. The conservative men of the South, while holding the opinion that the institution was wrong in the abstract, yet, while the institution was under the protection of the law and the organic constitution of the United States believed that the holding of slaves was not necessarily sinful. (5) In the meantime selfish considerations were slowly molding public sentiment adversely to the opinion of Thomas Jefferson. In the year 1856, Dr. William A. Smith, the president of the Randolph-Macon college, in Virginia, boldly took the view that human slavery was right per se, and, contrary to the view of Jefferson, was right in the abstract. Hence, if universally right and constitutionally right, it was wrong to advocate the freedom of the slave. (6)

In this connection it is well to consider the attitude of an all-wise Providence in regard to evils practiced by nations. It is the purpose of God that evils in nations shall be eradicated by the spirit of love inculcated by the Son of God in the Golden Rule. In case this can not be accomplished, by reason of the sinfulness of nations, then He permits the evil to run its own course of destruction by violence. It is apparent that,

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5. *Paul's Letter to Philemon.*
6. *Philosophy and Practice of Slavery.* Sec. 1 Dr. Wm. A. Smith.

when the opinions of Dr. Smith prevailed in the South, then the destruction of the institution was inevitable; and such was the result. "For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood. But this shall be with burning and fuel of fire."

An incident with which I was personally connected will not be inappropriate here. I was the colleague of General Sterling Price in the convention. While the discussion was going on in regard to the attitude of Missouri, Mr. Bast offered an amendment to the resolution then pending, the purport of which was that

"In the event the Northern States did not agree to the adjustment of the slavery question and that the border states, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas and Kentucky, shall decide to change the relations they now hold to the general government, the State of Missouri will not hesitate to take a firm and decided stand in favor of her sister slave states."

The vote on the amendment showed a very large majority in favor of Missouri remaining in the Union, regardless of the position of the border states. Only 23 voted in its favor. Among those voting in its favor was General Price. That evening, after the vote, General Price said to me in a private conversation, "You were surprised at my vote today." "Yes," I said. He then said to me: "I believe that war is inevitable. I am a military man. I can't fight against the South; so I must go with the border states. I was, as you know, against secession, but was in favor of revolution. This will be a revolution, the greatest in the world."

General Price never met in the convention after its first adjournment.

I voted against the amendment, contending that Missouri must act from principle and not simply follow the decision of the other border states.

An interesting incident connected with my vote on the Bast amendment occurred on my return to my home. I mention this incident to show the character of Missourians. They may have differed as to policies; but, as regards individual rights they were characterized by a sense of justice that rose far above mere partisan differences, and showed in action an indomitable courage to condemn the wrong and commend the right that astonished the world. But to the incident. When I returned to my home in Glasgow, I found hand bills scattered around calling a public meeting to condemn Judge Hall and myself for our vote on the Bast amendment. I went to Fayette on the day of the meeting and found an excited crowd assembled.

The meeting was organized and a chairman selected. I pushed my way to the judge's stand and on the steps I appealed to the chairman for permission to explain my vote on the amendment. The crowd hissed and yelled and said they did not wish to hear me; that my vote was sufficient. I then asked the privilege of speaking from the court house steps to those who wished to hear me. "No, no, not in this county," was the response. Just at this moment I discovered a commotion in the back of the house. Soon I discerned a man in gray uniform with about ten men following him, all dressed in uniform with pistols at their sides. The crowd gave way. The captain arranged his men in a circle around me, and took his stand beside me with hand on his revolver. He addressed the crowd, saying: "I start South on next Monday. My sense of justice makes me demand that you hear Mr. Shackelford before you condemn him, and I say he shall speak." Turning to me, he said, "Now speak, Mr. Shackelford, and I will protect you." A hushed silence pervaded the assembly. I said to the crowd: "I want to talk to Missourians. I am a native Missourian. I want to talk to Missourians on this crisis which now confronts us. I ask now for every native Missourian to rise to his feet." A large number arose. I continued: "Now, my friends, let us dispassionately, as brave men, discuss this Resolution. What is its purport? We will not go out of the Union on principle, but, if the other border states go out, Missouri must join in the movement. Is this brave? Is it courageous for Missourians to take such a cowardly position? And now, fellow Missourians, if you are of the opinion that I should have voted for such a cowardly resolution to Missourians, then condemn me; and I submit with sorrow and mortification."

There was a hushed silence for a moment—then applause—then a motion to approve my vote, and an almost unanimous approval was the result. Was I not then proud that I was a Missiourian!

There is another episode connected with this incident. Thirty years afterward, sitting in my office, a woman entered and said to me: "My husband has been indicted and I come to ask you to defend him." I said to her, "Yes, I will defend him; and it shall not cost you a cent." That woman was the daughter of the confederate captain who stood beside me in the court house thirty years before. An associate and myself quashed the indictment. The gratitude of the daughter and wife was unbounded; and, Union man as I had been, I was glad of the opportunity to assist the daughter of the confederate captain, brave man, who had stood beside me on that eventful day thirty years before.

We appeal to a candid public that, in view of an impending war unparalleled in the annals of history, we did right in trying to prevent a calamity so great. The heroism, subsequently manifested in the contest between brethren, astonished the world.

An old Commodore in the navy, whose son commanded the "Congress" in the battle raging at the mouth of the Chesepeake bay, sat in his office awaiting tidings of the result. A messenger entered announcing that the "Congress had struck her flag." The old man bowed his head, exclaiming, "Then Joe is dead." It was even so.

In anticipation of such a conflict, what could we do but obey the injunction of the Divine Arbiter of nations. "Come, my people, enter into thy chambers; shut thy doors about thee; hide thyself, as it were, a little moment until the indignation be overpast."

I would not call to remembrance this dark period in our nation's history fraught with such dire results. It is related of Thaddeus Stephens, on the authority of Senator Vest, that, when a bill was pending in congress to restore the tattered battle flags to the South, he said, that if he had his way, he would collect the battle flags of the Union and those of the South, and burn the whole together as a burnt sacrifice. Such was the policy of the Romans to erect no monuments to fraternal strife.

But, alas! alas! the mourning households in the North and the South, the immense national debt, the enormous pension roll, the multitude of officials collecting the internal revenue are constant reminders of this fratricidal conflict.

As we can not cast a veil over this dark period in our country's history, I feel that we did what we could. "But the blood of brethren cries unto the throne of God."

And, now, as we stand beside you today, the small remnant of the actors in this great drama, and all these remembrances arise to our vision, like Banquo's Ghost, we can say, my brethren, with truth,

"Shake not thy gory locks at me,
Thou canst not say, 'I did it.' "

May our American poet fill all our hearts, with new meaning and new force, from his words:

"Sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!

"Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee—
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears
Are all with thee, are all with thee."

THOMAS SHACKELFORD.

COL. BENJAMIN WHITEMAN GROVER. (1)

Benjamin Whiteman Grover was born in Xenia, Green county, Ohio, on October 27, 1811. His father, Josiah Grover, was a native of Maryland, and was of Welsh ancestry. His mother, whose maiden name was Martha McClure, was a native of Virginia, and was of Scotch-Irish ancestry. His education was acquired at Xenia, in the public schools of that day. His father was for many years Circuit Clerk of Green county, Ohio, and Benjamin Grover was a Deputy Clerk in that office from 1828 to 1834.

In the year last named, Benjamin Grover removed to Madison, Ind., where, on September 30, 1834, he was married to Letitia Downing Sheets. In that year he joined a Masonic Lodge in Madison, Ind. In 1842 he removed to the city of St. Louis, Mo., and there affiliated with Naphtali Lodge No. 25 (Masonic). In April, 1844, he removed his family from Madison, Ind., to St. Louis, Mo., and in October of that year removed to Warrensburg, Mo., where he settled on a farm, which is now a part of that city. Grover's addition and Grover street, in that city, were each named for him. In 1846 he organized the first Masonic Lodge in Johnson county, Mo. (Johnson Lodge No. 85), which is still in existence.

In political faith he was always an enthusiastic Whig, and devoted follower of his personal friend, Henry Clay. In 1840, in Indiana, he took an active part, as a leading Whig, in the Presidential campaign of that year in that state. Thus, he became as he remained through life, an effective and forceful speaker, possessing a wonderful memory, accurate literary taste, and thorough culture. He was also, though modest, reserved, and gentle in demeanor, of winning address, exceedingly tender-hearted, wholly devoid of malice, but of unlimited

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1. Read (in abstract) before the State Historical Society of Missouri, March, 1904.

will power, fixed resolution, which neither adversity nor defeat could weaken or check, inflexible honesty, and wholly incapable of fear. Of medium size, compactly built, he was also gifted with a constitution of iron, equal to any emergency, and able to endure any sort of hardship with apparent ease. He was never weary of serving his many friends, and for that reason was always far stronger than his party. All of these qualities combined to make him, as he was, a born leader of men.

From 1844 to 1848 he was actively engaged as a country merchant in Warrensburg, Mo., and during that time also he effected a complete organization of the Whig party in that county. In 1848 he was elected Sheriff of Johnson county, running largely ahead of his ticket, and he served in that capacity for four years, leaving a splendid record as a capable and efficient officer.

During all of his life, even before removing to Missouri, he had given much time and study to all questions concerning public schools and internal improvements, and his views upon those and other questions were far in advance of his time. Immediately upon his arrival in Warrensburg in 1844, therefore, in addition to organizing a Masonic Lodge and the Whig party in the county, he re-organized a public school district in Warrensburg, and commenced agitating the project of an east and west railroad through the county connecting St. Louis and Kansas City. These efforts ceased only with the abrupt termination of his life. The magnificent school facilities now enjoyed in Missouri, especially in Warrensburg, and the fine railroad lines now traversing the state, are enduring monuments to his wisdom, energy, foresight and public spirit.

At the close of his term of office as Sheriff, in 1852, he was elected to the state Senate for a term of four years, again leading his ticket. That Senatorial district was then composed of Lafayette and Johnson counties. He rode to and from Warrensburg to Jefferson City on horseback, and carried with him two bills on which he had bestowed years of study and anxious thought. One was an act to reconstruct the public school system of the state, so as to place a good common school education within the reach of every pupil of proper age, and to put such schools upon a permanent and self-supporting basis, while the other was an act to authorize, on broad and fair lines, the incorporation of companies for the purpose of constructing and operating railroads in the state.

His efforts in behalf of railroad legislation bore the first fruit, as the amended charter of the Pacific Railroad, February 24th, 1853, the amended charters of the North Missouri Railroad, now the Wabash, January 7th, 1853, and December 12th, 1855, respectively, the amended charter of the Iron Mountain Railroad, February 17th, 1853, the charter of the Platte County Railroad, now a part of the Burlington, February 24th, 1853, the Cairo and Fulton Railroad, now a part of the Iron Mountain, February 20th, 1855, the act to aid in the construction of the Pacific Railroad, March 3d, 1855, and the act to secure the completion of the Pacific, the Southwest Branch, now the Frisco, the Hannibal and St. Joseph, now the Burlington, the North Missouri, now the Wabash, and the Iron Mountain, December 10th, 1855, were all measures which he not only aided to pass, in the Senate and House, but assisted to frame as well.

In addition to that, the general railroad law, which was approved February 24th, 1853, the first of its kind in the state, which appears in our statutes substantially unchanged today, was passed largely by his unceasing effort, in almost the exact form in which he had originally drawn it, so that he can truly be called one of the authors of that legislation which has contributed more than any other cause to the present material greatness of this commonwealth.

On the 12th of December, 1855, an "act to provide for the organization, support and government of common schools in the State of Missouri," passed both houses. Senator Grover had worked unceasingly on this statute over three years. This measure is also in almost the exact form in which he had originally drawn it, and it, too, was the foundation upon which the superstructure of the present great public school system of Missouri is laid. As before stated, to Senator Grover belongs the honor of the parentage of that wise law. He was ever an enthusiastic Mason. In the years 1851 and 1852 he was Grand Master of that order in the state, and in that capacity traveled all over it, speaking many times in each county. Subsequently, he devoted much time to building up the Masonic College at Lexington, Mo.

At the close of his term in the Senate in 1856 he was elected one of the Directors of the Pacific Railroad, and held that office until his death in 1861. He devoted his entire time from 1856 to 1860 to the construction of the Pacific Railroad west of Jefferson City, and secured the location of the present main line through California, Tipton, Sedalia, Warrensburg and Pleasant Hill to Kansas City. For this, his grateful friends at Warrensburg presented him with a beautiful silver pitcher.

In company with his friend Brinkley Hornsby he voted viva voce for John C. Fremont for President, at Warrensburg, in 1856. This he did, because his friend Hornsby had been threatened with violence if he so voted. In 1860 he took an active part in the campaign of that year, especially in behalf of his friend, Aikman Welch, afterwards Attorney General of Missouri, who was in that year elected, on the Union ticket, as a delegate from Johnson county to the State Constitutional Convention. At that time two young men, then about twenty-three and twenty-four years of age, Marsh and Emory S. Foster, brothers, were conducting a weekly paper at Warrensburg, named the Warrensburg Missourian. These two young men were natives of Missouri, and were Douglas Democrats and ardent Union men. Their father, Rev. R. A. Foster, was a Methodist minister, and though a native of South Carolina, was also an active Union man.

Senator Grover in this campaign, worked and voted for John Bell, the Whig candidate for President. James McCown, the Circuit Clerk of that county, a West Virginian, was one of the leaders of the Secession party and a supporter of Breckenridge. The issue was squarely made in this canvass between Union and Secession, and the Union men, Douglas Democrats, and Whigs elected Aikman Welch, as above stated, and also the county ticket. In this movement, Senator Grover and the Fosters were the leaders, and Marsh Foster defeated James McCown for County Clerk. On the afternoon of the election, Feb. 12th, 1861, Marsh Foster was assassinated at the polls, by James McCown and his son, William. They came up from behind and shot him.

After the murder of Foster the McCowns took refuge in the jail and were locked up there by their friends. The friends of Foster arose in overwhelming numbers, surrounded the jail for the express purpose of seizing and hanging the McCowns. Senator Grover, Emory S. Foster and George W. Houts, a prominent Whig, each addressed the crowd from the door steps of the jail and finally persuaded them to disband, and let the law take its course. A partisan grand jury soon afterwards failed to indict the McCowns and so they escaped. They soon afterwards entered the Confederate service and survived the civil war, but never returned to Warrensburg to live. Marsh Foster was a young man of extraordinary ability, and, had his life been spared, would have unquestionably risen to a high rank in the Union army, in which he would have soon enlisted. He was the first martyr to the Union cause in Missouri.

Later in the same month (February, 1861,) Senator Grover was elected sergeant-at-arms of the State Constitutional Convention and entered upon his duties in St. Louis. It was this convention which voted against secession by a decisive majority. Senator Grover had, however, long been known as one of the most active and earnest Union men in the state. While in attendance upon that convention, through his friend Col. (afterwards Gen.) Francis P. Blair, he formed the acquaintance of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, and was commissioned by that officer on March 5th, 1861, as Lientenatn-Colonel of the Johnson County Home Guards (the name then given to Missouri volunteers.)

He returned to Warrensburg early in April, 1861, to recruit this regiment, which was afterwards given its proper name, the 27th Mounted Infantry, Missouri Volunteers. The Secession leaders then offered a reward of five hundred dollars to any man who would kill him. Col. Grover's answer to this proceeding was characteristic of him. In company with his friend, James D. Eads, who was a Douglas Democrat, and who had served in the Mexican war, Col. Grover canvassed Johnson county and called for volunteers for the Union army. They spoke in every school district in the county, and the result was that on May 1st, 1861, Col. Grover took the field with a full regiment of ten companies, nine companies (A to I) recruited in Johnson, and one company (K) recruited in Pettis county. He was twice elected Colonel of the regiment, and twice declined it on account of his lack of military experience. Col. Jacob Knaus was the first Colonel of the regiment, and Col. James D. Eads, the second. Major Emory S. Foster was the first Major, and Major William Beck the second. Lieutenant Thomas W. Houts, a son of George W. Houts, was Quartermaster. Lieutenant John J. Welshans was Commissary. Rev. R. A. Foster, was Chaplain. Dr. Logan Clark, of Sedalia, was Surgeon. Dr. Hill, of Warrensburg, was Assistant Surgeon. George S. Grover was the first Adjutant, and Samuel K. Hall, the second. The ten companies, A to K inclusive, were commanded by Captains Maguire, Isaminger, M. U. Foster, Duncan, Applegate, McCluney, Cunningham, Iiams, Brown and Parker.

The regiment was mounted and, though armed with shotguns and revolvers, soon became well drilled and efficient soldiers. They were actively engaged in scouting the country between the Missouri and Osage rivers. Gen. Lyon arrived with his command at Boonville, Mo., early in June, 1861. Col Grover rode across the country, 75 miles alone, to report progress to Gen. Lyon. He served on Gen. Lyon's staff as a volunteer aid in the battle of Boonville, on June 17, 1861. He then returned to his command, again alone, and rode one horse the entire distance, in one day. Gen. Lyon then marched south, Col. Grover again met him at Cole Camp and there received further instructions. That evening was spent by Col. Grover, by invitation, with Gen. Lyon, in the latter's tent. They discussed the situation all that night and talked until daylight appeared. They then separated, Gen. Lyon going south and Col. Grover going west to rejoin his regiment, and thus the two friends parted, never to meet again on earth.

On June 20th, 1861, Col. Grover marched his regiment to Lexington, Mo., to meet Col. Stifel, of St. Louis, who came up the Missouri river to that point, with a regiment from St. Louis. After receiving a supply of ammunition, and some muskets of an ancient pattern, Col. Grover returned to Warrensburg. On June 22d, 1861, at Atkinson's, 15 miles from Lexington, a Confederate force ambushed, in thick brush, on both sides of the road, suddenly opened fire on the 27th, then marching south by fours. Col. Grover instantly swung his men into line, charged and routed the enemy, and Captains Isaminger and Foster chased them 15 miles into the rough country on the Sni river, where they dispersed under the cover of night.

On July 4, 1861, the regiment was regularly mustered into the volunteer army of the United States as the 27th Mtd. Inf. Mo. Vols. It continued scouting until August 1st, 1861, when Col. Grover was ordered to move to Jefferson City and there report to Col. U. S. Grant, then commanding the post there. He collected his scattered command, a work of several days, and marched eastward, reaching Tipton August 18, and California August 19, 1861. He was joined at Sedalia by a company commanded by Captain William Beck; at Tipton by a company commanded by Captain Hopkins, and at California by a company commanded by Captain Rice. On August 20th, 1861, he took a train for Jefferson City, with 160 of his own regiment, together with Captains Beck, Hopkins and Rice, with their companies. The men were packed closely in open stock cars. Col. Grover rode on the engine. Major Foster, with two companies, was absent on a scout, so the remainder of the 27th commanded by Captain Parker, rode eastward on the public road.

While the train, with Col. Grover's command on board, was passing through a cut at Lookout Station, now Centretown, they were fired on from behind piles of cord wood from the top of the cut by a guerrilla band. Three men were killed and five wounded in the 27th at the first fire by the unseen enemy. Col. Grover halted the train as quickly as possible, and led a charge on the cut, but the guerillas beat a quick retreat and thus escaped. Later in the afternoon, however, they ran into Capt. Parker's advance guard, commanded by Lieut. R. M. Box, of Co. B of the 27th, and lost two men. Box pursued them until a late hour that night. They then turned south and the next day met Major Foster, with two companies of the 27th, and were again roughly handled, losing ten men killed and wounded. Foster chased them one day and night, nearly to Tuscumbia, where they scattered in the brush and rough country and escaped.

At Jefferson City, Col. Grover met Col. U. S. Grant, afterwards the great commander of the Union armies in the civil war. Col. Grant was then post commander at Jefferson City. In physical appearance the two men were singularly alike. They were exactly the same size, both had reddish brown hair, auburn beards, gray eyes, and the same thoughtful, earnest expression. When walking side by side, one could scarcely be distinguished from the other. They became great friends. Col. Grant received notice of his promotion to Brigadier-General at Jefferson City, and there gave to Col. Grover a new uniform coat. Col. Grover wore the coat during the siege at Lexington and was buried in it.

Early in September, 1861, Col. Grover was ordered to proceed to Lexington with a detachment of his regiment, as an advance guard of and escort to a force commanded by Col. James Mulligan, consisting of the 23rd Ills. (Col. Mulligan), the 1st Ills. Cavalry (Col. Marshall) and 300 men (parts of five companies) 27th Mo. (Col. Grover). At Warrensburg they met the 25th Mo. (Col. Peabody) and at Lexington they were joined by the 26th Mo. (Col. White), and a battalion of the U. S. Reserve Corps, commanded by Major R. T. Van Horn, of Kansas City, in all about 3,000 men. On September 12th, 1861, they were surrounded and beseiged by an overwhelming Confederate force of about 30,000 men, commenced by Gen. Sterling Price. The fighting was severe and continuous for eight days and nights until September 20th, 1861, when Col. Mulligan surrendered.

On the afternoon of September 19th, 1861, while directing his men on the firing line, Col. Grover's right thigh was broken close to his body by a musket ball. It was a mortal wound. He was removed to St. Louis, after the surrender, by steamboat, from Lexington ,and was taken to the house of an intimate friend, Joseph Foster, on the corner of Fourth and Cerre streets in that city, where, after great agony, borne with surpassing fortitude, he died on October 30th, 1861. When wounded he had been on duty, without a mouthful of food or a drop of water for 60 consecutive hours. Had his life been spared, he also would undoubtedly have risen to high rank in the Union army, as he was a true soldier in every sense of the word.

Of the 300 brave men of the 27th there with him, only 130 surrendered. The rest were killed, wounded and missing. His five captains on duty with him, Maguire, Duncan, Applegate, McCluney and Parker, were all wounded, Captain McCluney mortally. That brave soldier died in Johnson county six months later. Colonels Peabody, Day and White were also wounded, the latter mortally. Major Van Horn was badly wounded. Colonel Mulligan was paroled, re-entered the service and was killed in battle, in 1864, in Virginia. His last words were: "Lay me down and save the flag." Colonels Marshall and Day survived the war, but died several years ago. Col. White died in St. Louis in 1862. Col. Peabody reentered the army and was killed at Shiloh.

Major Van Horn still lives, full of years and of honor, in Kansas City. The failure to raise the siege of Lexington is a blot upon the military record of Gen. John C. Fremont which time will never efface. During that entire time he held over six thousand men, all fresh troops, in top condition, within fifty-five miles of Lexington, and refused to permit their commander, Col. Jefferson C. Davis, to march to the relief of his brave comrades, over almost perfect roads. If he had been permitted to do so, Col. Davis could and would have relieved Lexington inside of two days. He sent message after message to Gen. Fremont, in ample time, asking for marching orders, which were uniformly refused, presumably by some one of Gen. Fremont's numerous force of staff officers, very few of whom could speak English.

Col. Grover was buried with military honors, in St. Louis, on October 31, 1861. In 1883, his body was re-interred in the family lot at Warrensburg, Mo., where it now is. Col. Grover Post, No. 178, G. A. R., of Warrensburg, Mo., and Grover township, Johnson county, bear his honored name.

His devoted wife returned to Warrensburg at the close of the civil war and there raised the family of children hereinafter described. She was a woman of remarkable ability, force of character and attainments. On July 3d, 1901, she died at Warrensburg, Mo. She lived on the home place, where they settled in 1844, for nearly 57 years, and now rests beside her beloved husband, in the beautiful cemetery at Warrensburg. Their two oldest children, John and Courtland Cushing Grover, died in Warrensburg in 1845.

Their fourth son, Benjamin W. Grover, died in El Paso, Texas, in 1896, and is buried at Warrensburg. Their daughters, Mrs. Sallie L. Barret, and Misses Elizabeth and Martha Grover, live in the old home at Warrensburg. Their youngest son, Robert J. Grover, lives there with his sisters. The remaining daughter, Mrs. Annie Harris, lives near Eldorado, Kansas. The third son, George S. Grover, lives in St. Louis.

Mrs. Cora S. Grover, widow of Benjamin W. Grover, Jr., lives in Warrensburg, Mo. Her oldest son, John C. Grover, is principal of the High school in Gallatin, Daviess county, Missouri. Her second son, Benjamin W. Grover, is at Warrensburg with his mother. A granddaughter, Miss Annie G.

Harris, is a teacher in the El Dorado, Kansas, High school. A grandson, George M. Barret, is a mining engineer on the Pacific Slope.

In all the relations of life, Col. Grover was a model man and citizen. He was a loving and devoted husband and father, a true friend, a good neighbor and ever a public-spirited citizen. He was strictly temperate in his habits, and was frugal, industrious and self-denying to a remarkable degree. He was raised a Methodist, but never joined any church, although always a liberal contributor to all religious denominations. Mrs. Grover was a member of the Presbyterian church for over fifty years. Col. Grover was truly the representative Union soldier from Johnson county in the civil war, and as such, has passed into history. His name is entitled to enrollment also in civil life in the front rank of the great men of Missouri. It was not given to him to see the triumph of the good cause he so loved, nor to witness the greatness of the nation he died to save.

His beloved comrades of the 27th regiment, of which he was so justly proud, have nearly all rejoined him across the "shining river." Colonels Knaus and Eads, Major Foster, Captains Maguire, Isaminger, Duncan, Applegate, McCluney, Cunningham, Iiams, Brown and Parker, Lieuts. Box, Burnett, Pease, Welshans and Hall, Chaplain Foster, Doctors Clark and Hill are all with him in the "better land."

Of the thousand brave men who followed their beloved leader and that cherished flag in sunshine and in shadow to victory and defeat, less than one hundred remain on earth. The others are with him in heaven. Of them, as of him, it may well be said

"On Fame's eternal camping ground
  Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards with solemn round,
  The bivouac of the dead."

GEORGE S. GROVER.

HISTORIC LANDMARKS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY. (1)

We, the committee to whom was referred the subject of locating and marking important landmarks in the early history of Jefferson county, beg leave to report as follows:

In our reseaches, in connection with our duties, we find that we have let a great deal of history die with the old inhabitants, nearly all of whom have been called to their fathers, and we found it almost impossible, in many instances, to exactly locate points of interest, because those who had knowledge of them have died, leaving no information, or no information of a definite character, in regard to them. In these cases all we can do is to approximate the localities as nearly as practicable. We think the following points are of sufficient historical interest to justify steps being taken by this society to mark them so as to hand them down to those who may come after us:

1. The point where the first white man built a house and opened a farm in our county.
2. The points in each neighborhood where the first settlers built houses and opened farms.
3. The location of the first ferry across the Meramec.
4. The first road to be marked out and opened.
5. The locations of Indian raids and the points where the old settlers were killed by Indians.
6. The location of the first store, the first mill and the first postoffice.
7. The location of the first house erected for religious worship.
8. The location of the first school taught.

We take it for granted that it is desirable to mark or describe points of historic interest in the early settlement of our

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*Report of the Committee on Landmarks, Old Settlers' Association of Jefferson County, 1899.

county, to preserve them for future generations, and the only question that confronts us is what steps shall we take to mark or describe them. We can prepare and set stones at these points with suitable inscriptions thereon, or we can set stones, preserving among the archives of this society, descriptions of the points the stones are intended to commemorate, or we can make plats showing the points, with a history of them. It will probably be too expensive for us to undertake to set stones with inscriptions thereon, and the setting of stones with written descriptions will also cost more than we could conveniently raise, while the last plan above suggested may be carried out without any cost, as we can, no doubt, get the plats or maps made without money. These plats or maps should show the section, township, and range with the landmarks in the neighborhood of the point to be commemorated.

In time the society may be able to raise money to have a full map of the county with these old landmarks designated thereon, made and printed so that each member of the society would have a copy.

Points which should be commemorated:

So far as we are able to learn, John Hildebrand, of French descent, was the first white settler on Jefferson county soil. In 1774 he built a cabin and opened a clearing on the Meramec near the farm of the late Judge Isaac Sullens. Hildebrand went to that point under the auspices of the Spanish government and took up a homestead of — arpents which was afterwards confirmed by our government as United States survey No. —. The exact spot where he erected his cabin we have not been able to ascertain. Hildebrand lived in what was known as the "Meramec settlement."

It may interest you to know that Jefferson county was settled as early as Kentucky. The Hildebrand settlement was in the same year as the first settlement in Kentucky which was at that time Harrodsburg in 1774.

In 1778 Thomas Tyler was in possession of the Hildebrand farm, having eighty arpents (about 68 acres) in cultivation, forty acres of which were in corn and tobacco.

In 1776 the King of Spain, Charles III, in order to open a way overland from St. Louis to Ste. Genevieve, offered 1,050 arpents of land to anyone who would establish and maintain a ferry across the Meramec. Jean Baptiste Gomache accepted the offer, established the ferry in that year and located the 1,050 arpents of land at the mouth of that river. The ferry was established about a mile above the mouth of the river and the place is still known as the "lower ferry." In the same year (1776) a trail, called the "King's trace," was opened from St. Louis by way of the Gomache ferry and thence running near Kimmswick, Sulphur Springs, Pevely, Horine and Rockfort Hill, thence across the hills to the Plattin river, thence up that river to the Madison bridge and thence across the hills to Ste. Genevieve. There is a place where this trail crossed the Joachim creek near Horine, called "King's trace" to this day.

We have not been able to locate definitely the spot where Gomache built his house, but it was, no doubt, near the present residence of Col. C. A. Newcomb.

In 1779 there was quite a settlement of what it now Kimmswick. The first settler there was probably Thomas Jones. He manufactured salt at what are now called the Montesano springs in 1770. In 1786 Benito Vasquez, a Spaniard by birth, settled on the Meramec, his claim of 3,000 arpents including the mouth of Saline creek. He had a park and a large herd of cattle and he, too, manufactured salt, the trenches for the furnaces still existing there.

The Meramec and Kimmswick settlements have a general historic interest, aside from a local interest. They figured indirectly and remotely in our struggle for independence. In order to understand the relation of these settlements to that struggle it will be necessary to first note briefly their relation, at that time, to the rest of the world.

At the time of these settlements all the territory lying west of the Mississippi river belonged to Spain and all east of that river belonged to England.

Charles III was King of Spain, George III was King of England, Louis XVI was King of France, Don Alexander O'Riley was Captain and Governor General of

Upper and Lower Louisiana with headquarters at New Orleans, Francisco Cruzat was Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana with headquarters at St. Louis, that village, at the time of the Hildebrand settlement, being only ten years old, and the revolutionary struggle which terminated in 1783 was first beginning to assume form. On February 6, 1778, France recognized the independence of the thirteen colonies and England thereupon waged war against her. On May 8, 1779, Spain declared war against England but refused to recognize the independence of the thirteen colonies. Thus after May 8, 1779, to 1783, England was at war with not only her North American colonies, but also with France and Spain. The French allies aided our armies in the East and Spain helped to drive the English forces from the West. Immediately upon the declaration of war by Spain the English authorities gave orders to her officers here to organize a land force of whites and Indians in the Northwest to descend the Mississippi river and capture all the Spanish posts on the west side of the river as far as Natchez and orders were also sent to General Campbell at Pensacola, Florida, to proceed with his fleet to ascend the Mississippi, capture New Orleans and proceed to Natchez to meet the land forces from the North. It should be noted at this point that Baton Rouge and Natchez were then in control of British garrisons.

Spain thwarted the English campaign program as above outlined by vigorous movements on her part. Governor Galvez, of New Orleans, organized and equipped a fleet and in a short time captured Manchac, Baton Rouge and Natchez, all the English garrisons on the Mississippi river, and then proceeded to Mobile and Pensacola, which places capitulated to the Spanish commander in February and May, 1780. Lieutenant Governor Sinclair, stationed at Miachilimacinac (now Mackinaw, Michigan), not knowing of the disasters to the British forces in the South, had, prior to February 17, 1780, organized a force of 1,500 Indians (mostly Sioux) and 140 English and Canadian traders for the expedition down the Mississippi to be commanded by a Sioux chief by the name of Wabasha. The Indians east and west of the river were informed of this expedition and no doubt many joined it on its way down the river. Wabasha, with his forces, reached St. Louis May 26, 1780, but for some unaccountable reason the stockade there was not attacked, but citizens found outside were either killed or taken prisoners. The expedition crossed the Mississippi and made a similar raid on Cahoka and then returned to the North. Before St. Louis was reached, however, another expedition consisting of 720 Indians and whites under the command of Hesse was organized by Sinclair. Hesse was ordered to remain at St. Louis while Wabasha with his forces should take Ste. Genevieve. St. Louis was then called Paincourt, which being interpreted means "short bread," and Ste. Genevieve was called Misere which means "wretchedness." This recalls to our minds the fact that Carondelet was once called Vide Poche, which means "empty pocket." It will be observed that all these nicknames are French and the application of the soubriquets of "short bread" and "wretchedness" to the small trading posts of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve in 1780 reminds us forcibly of the privations and hardships of the settlers west of the father of waters.

As stated above the expedition under Wabasha returned north after a raid on St. Louis and Cahoka and the expedition under Hesse was abandoned. Why such an expedition accomplished so little and why it failed to try to accomplish much has been a mystery to the historians. At all events the Spanish forces in connection with the troops under Colonel James Rogers Clark on behalf of the colonies cleared the country of British and Indians from Pensacola around the coast to the mouth of the Mississippi and then up that river as far as Prairie du Chien. And this was a most important factor in our Revolutionary struggle, and when Cornwallis in October, 1781, surrendered to the allied Americans and French at Yorktown, the independence of the colonies was assured. It is a remarkable fact, however, that when it came to making a treaty of peace both France and Spain were opposed to making the Mississippi the western boundary of the United States, thus showing that their interposition in our behalf was instigated by self-interest.

After the failure of Wabasha's expedition to St. Louis Indian stragglers from his command raided the Meramec settlement and the settlement at what is now Kimmswick and the settlers all fled to St. Louis for protection. Jean Baptiste Gomache also was compelled by the same Indians to flee from his home near the mouth of the Meramec. On the return of Wabasha north the danger passed away and the settlers on the Meramec and at Kimmswick returned. These settlements remained under Spanish rule more than twenty years after the Indian raid of 1780.

Another point of historic interest is where Peter Hildebrand settled and where he was killed by the Indians in 1784. He settled on a tract of land on the opposite side of Big river from what is now the Cedar Hill mill. In that year he was out hunting and was killed by the Indians a short distance below Cedar Hill mill, on the bank of the river, tradition giving as the exact spot the corner of Radecker's pasture fence. This Hildebrand built the first cabin and opened the first clearing in Big river valley in 1784, near where the houses on the tract of land opposite Cedar Hill mill now stand. This Hildebrand was the father of Abraham Hildebrand who was in 1835 one of the judges of the county court and is the ancestor of many of the Hildebrands now here.

The first grist mill operated within the borders of our county was erected by Francis Wideman about 1802 or 1803 on Big river, about three-quarters of a mile above the Morse mill. Some of the logs used in the dam are still to be seen there, though not a vestige of the mill is to be found. About the same time John Johnston operated a small horse mill at the place where the Douglass dwelling stands, about two miles west of Pevely, this mill was a very rude affair. It could crack corn, but it could scarcely be said that it could make meal.

The first town in the county was called New Hartford and it was laid out in 1806 by Christian Wilt and John W. Honey. The exact location of this town can not now be ascertained, but it was on the Mississippi river near where Riverside station is

The first store was opened in this town by Wilt and Honey. They also operated a shot tower. This shot tower must have been at the bluff just south of Riverside.

The first postoffice in the county was Herculaneum. That town was laid out in 1808 and soon afterward a postoffice was established there and it remained the only office for the county for nearly thirty years.

This naming of points of historic interest could be continued almost indefinitely, but we think this is enough for this year., We suggest that the committee on "Old Landmarks" be made permanent and that an auxiliary committee consisting of one member from each neighborhood in the county be raised to gather information relative to points of historic interest and report the same to the chairman of the main committee. We suggest also that a committee of three be raised to be called the "Committee on Biography" whose duty it shall be to write the lives of the early settlers to be kept among the archives of this society.

We hope that active work on these lines will be commenced at once for the "old settlers" are rapidly passing away and what they know either personally or by tradition should be reduced to writing at once, or it will be forever lost. All of which is respectfully submitted,

JOHN L. THOMAS,
R. G. MORGAN, Committee.

BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK.

LETTER OF GEN. F. SIGEL.

The State Historical Society has in its collection of manuscripts a letter written by Gen. Franz Sigel July 30, 1895, to Walter L. Howard, of Griffin, Christian county, Mo., which has never been published. It is as follows:

New York, July 30, 1895.

Walter L. Howard, Esqr.,
Griffin, Christian Co., Mo.

Dear Sir:

In answer to yours of July 25th saying that you wish to know "where I separated from the main army on the morning of the 10th?" also how many men were in my command, I wish to state that on the 9th of August before the movement against the enemy, encamped at Wilson's Creek, began, my brigade, consisting of the 3d Mo. and 5 Mo. Inf. and two batteries, of four pieces each, were encamped at Springfield, on the Yokermill or Joachim's mill road, in the southeastern part of the city; there and near by was also encamped the 1 Iowa Inf. Regt. (Col. Gates), while all other troops of the so-called "army of the West," under Gen. Nath. Lyon were encamped in the eastern part of the city, on the road to Little York.

On that day, Friday the 9 of August in the morning I received an order from Gen. Lyon to hold my command in readiness to march at a moment's notice directly from my camp, toward the south, to attack the enemy from the rear. This order was sent to me by my adjutant whom I had sent to him. I immediately went to Gen. Lyon who said that we would move in the evening, that the 1 Iowa should join the main column with him, while I was to take the Yokermill road, then turn toward the southwest and try to gain the enemy's rear; he would procure guides and some cavalry to assist me and let me know the exact time when I should move. I then asked him, whether on the arrival of my troops near the enemy's position, I should attack immediately or wait until we were apprised of the beginning of the attack by the troops under his own command. He reflected a moment and then said, "wait until you hear the firing on our side." The conversation did not last longer than about ten minutes. Between 4 and 5 o'clock in the evening I received the order to move at 6:30 p. m. At the precise time stated we left camp and marched due south. Half an hour before that time, at 6 p. m., two companies of cavalry under Capt. Eugene A. Carr and Lieut. Charles E. Farrand joined us, also the guides. By order of Gen. Lyon I left two pieces of artillery and two companies in Springfield, so that my whole command now consisted of 8 comp's of the 3d Mo. Inf. 9 comp's of the 5 Mo. Inf. (total 912 men), 6 pieces of artillery (85 men) and the two comp's of cav. (121 men), in all 1118 men. I think I have now answered your questions "where I separated from the main army" and "how many men were in my command." As a matter of interest, which became fatal to us I would add, that the 1 Iowa was dresed in a grayish uniform. Resp. and truly yours,

F. SIGEL,
Late M. G.

P. S.—I remember that the principal guide who led the column from the Yokermill road and the byroad through the woods into the rear of the enemy's camp was a tall young man of about 25 to 30 years. We reached the neighborhood of the hostile camp about 12 p. m. on the 9th after having made a long detour.

When I visited the battlefield in 1887 (?) Col. Boyd of Springfield, was with me. I think we traced the line of retreat of our column pretty well.

NECROLOGY.

FERDINAND F. L. BOYLE.

Born in Ringwood, Hampshire, England, about 1819; came to this country when a child; became a member of the National Academy of Design in 1836, and in 1850 an associate of that institution; in 1855 came to St. Louis and organized the Western Academy of Art, in which city he executed paintings that have become historic. In the Civil War he was Colonel of the Fourth Missouri enrolled militia and in 1865 was mustered out as brevet brigadier general. In 1864 he was director of the fine arts at the great sanitary fair at St. Louis. He died of pneumonia in Brooklyn, N. Y., December 2, 1906.

HENRY C. BROKMEYER.

Mr. Brokmeyer was born August 12, 1826 near Minden, Prussia, and came to this country at the age of 18, and worked at different occupations of manual labor, though he graduated at several institutions, and was a man of brilliant intellect; he was a nephew of the "Iron Chancellor," Prince Otto Edward Leopold Von Bismarck.

In November, 1870, he was elected to the Missouri senate to the 26th general assembly, and re-elected to the 27th, and in 1876 was elected lieutenant governor. During his term of office he was for some time acting governor during the illness of Gov. Phelps. In 1884 he was an elector at large on the Cleveland ticket.

He delighted in the abstruse subjects of metaphysics and philosophy, and was a contributor to the Journal of Speculative Philosophy of which Wm. T. Harris was editor in St. Louis from 1867 to 1879. Much of his philosophical writings are still in manuscript and are in the Mercantile Library at St. Louis.

He died in St. Louis July 26, 1906.

THOMAS W. BRYANT.

Mr. Bryant was born at Standford, Kentucky, July 16, 1839, and came to Independence, Missouri, in 1850. He graduated from Bethany college in 1860, and became the editor of the Independence Sentinel. In 1867 he moved to Kansas City and went into the practice of law. In 1880 he was elected on the Democratic ticket to the state senate and served in the 31st general assembly, being re-elected to the 32d. He took a leading part in the legislation under which a part of the boulevard system of Kansas City was established; the act providing for the registration of voters at general elections; and other matters affecting local interests. He was appointed by Gov. Crittenden chairman of the committee to visit elemosynary institutions; and he was a delegate to the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. Soon after leaving the legislature he retired to private life, and died in Kansas City, July 24, 1906.

GEORGE W. FERRELL.

About 1853 at Boonville, Missouri, George W. Ferrell, newspaper man, poet, editor and magazine writer, was born, and died in the same town April 16, 1906, a short distance from the house in which he was born. He was educated in the public schools and Kemper's Military school in Boonville and in his early life was a devout member of the Presbyterian church and a Sunday school worker.

He learned the newspaper business under Milo Blair, of the Boonville Eagle, and before attaining his majority, went to Dakota, and edited a paper at the Black Hills. At twenty-one he returned to Boonville, and started the Boonville Topic, now the Democrat, and was for a long time the editor of the Advertiser. Some event made a change in his habits and for the last ten years of his life he roved from place to place in Central and Western Missouri, working on various newspapers. He was a polite and unassuming gentleman.

LORENZO DOW HICKS.

Senator in the Forty-third general assembly from the Fifteenth district, from which he was elected in 1904. He was born in Clark county, Ohio, February 21, 1829, where he was educated and married, and from which he came to Missouri in 1869. He was a prominent merchant in the town of Marshall, Saline county, where he held various offices. He died at the home of his son-in-law, E. H. Adams, in Lamar, Mo., June 17, 1905.

CARL SCHURZ.

At first thought many will doubt the correctness of placing the name of Carl Schurz among Missourians and yet from 1867 to 1875, he was nominally a resident of Missouri and from 1869 to 1875 he represented the state in the United States senate.

Born near Cologne, Prussia, March 2, 1829, he lived an adventurous life in his native and his adopted country, being at the early age of 19 a newspaper editor and a leader in the revolution of 1848. Upon the failure of the Revolution Schurz escaped to Switzerland, but Professor Kinkel, his fellow worker, was arrested and imprisoned in the citadel of Spandau. On the night of November 6, 1850, Schurz and students of the University at Bonn gained access to the professor's cell, lowered him to the ground, and he and Schurz succeeded in escaping to England.

After residing awhile in London and Paris he came in 1852 to the United States; in 1855 he settled in Wisconsin, where he was heartily welcomed by the German population. He was a close student of politics, and as early as during the Lincoln-Douglas campaign of 1858 was an effective and powerful speaker not only in the German language, but also in the English which he had very thoroughly mastered. President Lincoln in 1861 made him minister to Spain but he returned in 1862 and was made a brigadier general in the union army, and held command under Franz Sigel, his old commander of Prussian revolutionary days; he took part in the battles of Chancellorsville, Gettysburg and Chattanooga.

In 1867 he came to St. Louis to become editor of the Westliche Post, and two years after was honored with the highest office to which a foreign born citizen could aspire, that of United States senator.

Under President Hayes he became secretary of the interior, and afterwards editor of the New York Evening Post, from which he retired in 1884. In his later years he was one of the founders and most active workers of the Civil Service Reform association, in the cause of which he wrote many articles and reports. Other publications by him are biographies of Henry Clay (1887) and Abraham Lincoln (1891). He died in New York May 14, 1906, and during his seventy-seven years played active parts as revolutionist, editor, correspondent, lawyer, party leader, soldier and statesman.

REV. SAMUEL HOWARD FORD, L. L. D.

Dr. Ford was born in London, England, February 19, 1819, but came to this country when a child. His father, Rev. Thomas Howard Ford, was one of the pioneer preachers of Central Missouri, the home being near Columbia, where both the father and mother died when Samuel was a boy. He was licensed to preach in 1840, and ordained in 1843, in Little Bonne Femme church in Boone county.

He became pastor of the church at Jefferson City, North church, St. Louis, Cape Girardeau, East church, Louisville, Central Baptist church, Memphis, Fee Fee near St. Louis, and Park avenue, St. Louis. He was seven years at Memphis increasing the membership from 75 to 450 and erecting a church building at a cost of $75,000.

In 1853 he began editorial work and was editorially conconnected with the Western Recorder and the Missouri Baptist and the same year began the publication of Ford's Christian Repository, which during or after the Civil War was moved from Louisville to St. Louis, and is still published at the latter place.

He was the author of a number of books. The State Historical Society library contains his ''Brief Baptist History;''

"Complete Ecclesiastical History," and "What Baptists Baptize For." "The Great Pyramids of Egypt" and "Historic Mile Stones" were other works by him.

His wife, Sallie Rochester Ford, was engaged with him in his editorial work and was the authoress of five books.

Dr. Ford died in St. Louis July 5, 1905.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SWITZLER.

The State Historical Society has lost its first Honorary Member, Col. Wm. F. Switzler, one of its founders and its earnest supporter. He was called the "Historian of Missouri," and the "Nestor of the Missouri Press," and during a long and eventful life was a devoted friend of the state in which nearly all of his life was passed and which has never been criticised for any act ever done by him.

Born in Fayette county, Kentucky, March 16, 1819, he came to Fayette county, Missouri, in 1826, and spent his early years in that county. He studied law under Judge Abiel Leonard and James S. Rollins, and was admitted to the bar, but in 1841 became the editor of the Columbia Patriot, the successor of the "Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser," which was started in the now extinct town of Franklin in 1819, the year of his birth. The library of the Society has an evidence of his habit of preserving objects of interest in connection with this paper. In 1841 he published in it an editorial on a veto message of President Tyler and lately gave the Society the original manuscript of this editorial, which is now shown in the bound volume of the Patriot by the side of the printed editorial. In 1843 he began the publication of the Columbia Statesman, and the complete file of that paper from its foundation to the present, found in the library of the Society, contains much of his intellectual work during the forty-two years of which he was its editor.

Before the Civil War he was a member of the Whig party, and was three times elected by it a member of the House of

Representatives in Missouri in 1846, 1848 and 1856, and was a delegate to the National Convention in Baltimore in 1860. During the war he was a strong union man, and afterwards a member of the Democratic party, and its candidate in 1866 and 1868 for the National House of Representatives. In each case he contested the seat with his opponent, but without success.

He was one of the few men who were members of both the constitutional conventions of 1865 and 1875, and in 1885 was made Chief of the Bureau of Statistics by President Cleveland.

He was sixty-three years a member of the Presbyterian church in Columbia, and an active member in church work. In practice throughout his whole life he was a teetotlar, and an active worker in temperance conventions. He was too, prominent in all movements for civic virtue and for local improvements.

His *History of Missouri*, *History of Boone County*, and *History of the University of Missouri* are his principal literary works, the latter not yet published.

JUDGE JOHN EDWIN RYLAND.

Judge John E. Ryland was born in Fayette, Howard county, Missouri, July 8, 1830, son of John F. Ryland, who came from Virginia in 1819, and to Lexington, Missouri, in 1831, and was at one time a member of the Supreme Court of Missouri.

The son graduated at the old Masonic college in Lexington in 1852, and afterwards taught in that college and in Kansas City, and for many years practiced law at Lexington.

In 1880 he was elected judge of the criminal court of the Fifteenth judicial circuit and continued in that office for 18 years. He held various other offices in the county and city. and was an active worker in the Democratic party, being an elector in 1876. In the state militia he held the rank of major.

He died at Lexington December 15, 1905, and his funeral was conducted by the Masons of which order he had been a member since 1852. As a judge he commanded the respect of the attorneys, and the fear of all guilty defendants brought into his court.

REV. DR. MEADE C. WILLIAMS.

Born at Indianapolis, Indiana. Graduated from Miami University, Ohio, and Princeton Theological Seminary. He was associate editor of the Herald and Presbyter, of St. Louis, and was the author of a half dozen or more publications. He was spending his eighteenth year at Mackinac Island and suddenly died there, August 22, 1906, aged about 70 years.

JOHN D. YOUNG.

Senator in the Forty-third general assembly from the Twenty-second district, was born on a farm near Houston, Texas county, Missouri, January 7, 1854. He graduated from the law department of the State University, was prosecuting attorney of his home county, a member of the House in the Thirty-eighth general assembly, and elected to the senate in 1902. He died in 1906.

NOTES.

Alabama is making extensive additions to its capitol building, and is providing considerable space for its Department of History and Archives. Mr. Thomas M. Owen is at the head of the department, and one of the most active historical workers in the country.

The legislature of Iowa furnishes funds for the State Historical Society of Iowa to republish in octavo volumes the messages and proclamations of the Governors of Iowa. The seventh volume covers the period 1894-1902.

The legislature of Kentucky has made the Kentucky State Historical Society an official one, and the first appropriation made for it is one of $5,000 per year. It publishes the Register a quarterly historical magazine of which Mrs. Jennie C. Morton, the secretary, is editor.

The Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis, has made its series of "Collections" a quarterly publication, and the number issued in December was given as Vol. II, No. 6. It is filled with interesting and valuable articles, relating mainly to St. Louis.

At the annual meeting of the Missouri State Teachers' Association, the Department of History voted to adopt the Missouri Historical Review as its official organ. There will be, accordingly, beginning with this number, a section of the Review devoted to the interests of the teachers of history and edited by a representative of the department. The Historical Society feels that this alliance with the teachers will go far toward the realization of one of the chief purposes of the Review—the stimulation of an intelligent interest in the history of the West and of Missouri.

The Missouri Folk-Lore Society was organized with forty-two members at a meeting held in Columbia Dec. 14 and 15. Dr. McGee, of the St. Louis Public Museum delivered the inaugural address on the evening of the 14th, upon "The Relations Between Folk-Lore and General Anthropology." On the 15th the constitution was adopted. It provides among other things for a policy of co-operation with other organizations in the state that have kindred interests. Organic connection with the American Folk-Lore Society, which had been proposed, was not incorporated in the constitution, though the Society will be in effect an active auxiliary of the national society. Thirty-one of the members are also members of the American Folk-Lore Society.

After the framing and adoption of the constitution, a meeting was held in the rooms of the State Historical Library for the reading of the few papers which had been prepared. Miss Dalton, of the Missouri Historical Society, read a paper on "Some Songs and Games." Other papers were omitted for lack of time. The session closed with the election of officers as follows: President, Dr. McGee, of St. Louis; Vice Presidents, Miss Mary A. Owen, of St. Joseph, and Hon. C. W. Clarke, of Kansas City; Secretary, Prof. H. M. Belden, of Columbia; Treasurer, Miss Mary Louise Dalton, of St. Louis; Directors, Prof. Raymond Weeks, of Columbia, Miss Jennie M. A. Jones, of St. Louis, and Mr. Brady Harris, of West Plains.

A collection of ballads made by the Society is now being published in the Journal of American Folk-Lore under the title of "Old Country Ballads in Missouri."

As an adjunct member of the Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, Dr. Jonas Viles, of the State University, is examining the State Archives at Jefferson City. The report of the investigation will be published by the Commission. A similar work has been undertaken in many of the states with the two-fold purpose of compiling catalogs or guides for historical investigators, and of stimulating an interest in the preservation and arrangement of the records.

A war time photograph of Col. Benjamin K. Grover, a sketch of whose life is in this number of the Review, has been deposited with the Loyal Legion in St. Louis.

Thomas Hart Benton. BY THEORDORE ROOSEVELT (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. 1886, pp. vi. 372.)

The Life of Thomas Hart Benton. BY WILLIAM M. MEIGS. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1904, pp. 535.)

Thomas H. Benton. BY JOSEPH H. ROGERS. (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Co., 1905, pp. 361.)

Two Americans who are coming into their own with historians and the people are the old time associates, Jackson and Benton. We are promised at last a definite edition of Jackson's writings and may hope for an adequate biography. Of Benton there have appeared three lives, two of recent date. Roosevelt's *Benton*, in the American Statesman Series, deals mainly with Benton's public life at Washington. Although there is much in Benton's environment and personality which the author does not understand or have patience with, and although the book is slightly marred by haste and over emphasis, it remains the best estimate of Benton as a statesman. Mr. Meigs' *Life* is of the better type of journalistic biography—readable, containing much on Benton's early life and career in Missouri hitherto unaccessible, and thoroughly sympathetic. The vigorous and rugged personality of the man is well portrayed. Unfortunately the author lacks the critical faculty and does not weigh his evidence sufficiently, and is somewhat blinded with his admiration for his hero. It remains, nevertheless, the most satisfactory biography for the general reader. Mr. Rogers' work has the same faults and much fewer virtues. It is distinctly disappointing after the the author's really excellent *The Real Henry Clay*.

MISSOURI STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY.

At a well attended session of the History section of the State Teachers' Association held at Moberly, Dec. 26th and 27th, a resolution was unanimously passed adopting the new Missouri Historical Review, published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, as the official organ of the associated history teachers of the state. Professor Eugene Fair, of the Kirksville Normal school, was elected as the editorial representative from the section and all contributions for this portion of the Review should be sent to him. The editors of the Review are very desirous of enlisting the support of every history teacher in the state on behalf of the Missouri Historical Review and of making them feel that it is worth their while to become members of the State Historical Society of Missouri. The payment of one dollar to Mr. F. A. Sampson, Secretary of the State Historical Society, Columbia, Mo., will entitle one to the Review for one year and to membership in the Historical Society and it is sincerely hoped that all history teachers will avail themselves of this offer.

Among the subjects discussed by the History teachers at the recent meeting at Moberly none was of more immediate importance than the paper by Superintendent M. A. O'Rear, of Boonville, Mo., on "History in the Grades." In this excellent paper Mr. O'Rear made a convincing plea for a better and broader organization of the history work in our elementary schools by beginning lower down in the scale and correlating history study with the development of the child's mind until the sixth, seventh and eighth grades elementary text-book work could be done, first in English History and then in American History. To show that this was not all theory Mr. O'Rear told of his successful experiments in the Booneville elementary schools along these lines. This paper would have been a valuable one for the general association to have heard. There was, in fact, a very general feeling among the history teachers present at Moberly that the History Department of the Association should be accorded some representation on the general programme of the meeting and the subject of history be given more recognition by educators in Missouri as compared with languages and science.

The resolution passed at the second session of the Department's meeting at Moberly favoring semi-annual meetings of the Missouri teachers of history and providing for a committee of arrangement was a very important step forward in organization. The committee hopes to arrange for a gathering of history teachers at Columbia this spring and ultimately to arrange with the State Historical Society for joint meetings in the spring or fall, thus bringing together the students of Missouri history and the teachers of history of the state. The number of specialists teaching history is increasing each year, and the Moberly meeting showed clearly that there is good material for a society of history teachers. If affiliation is maintained, as it always ought to be, with the State Teachers' Association, and a new affiliation made with the State Historical Society the influence exercised by the history teachers of the state will be a wide one indeed.

One very pleasing feature of the sessions at Moberly was the good representation from all parts of the state and from all classes of institutions, and the harmony that prevailed among these different institutions. The University of Missouri and Washington University were both represented at the History meetings by two or more teachers, the Kirksville, Warrensburg and Maryville normals had excellent representation, and there were many high school teachers and superintendents present at the meetings. The papers read were all of a high order, and brought forth many valuable points for discussion by those present. No one could fail to benefit by being present at the two sessions of the History section.

It will be the purpose of those in charge of this portion of the Missouri Historical Review to present matter that is of interest and importance to teachers of history in the state. Short articles in regard to history teaching, reports of meetings of historical societies, news from the history departments of different institutions, notices of new text-books and reference books in history, and brief bibliographical contributions will be among the principal attractions offered in this section of the Review. It is hoped that teachers who have matters of interest to communicate will send contributions to their editorial representative, Professor Fair.

REPORT ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT OF THE STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION FOR 1906.

It is the custom of the State Teachers' Association to hold its annual meetings at Christmas time and to vary the place of meeting from year to year. The meeting for 1906, therefore, was held in the hospitable little city of Moberly, in Randolph county, December 27th-29th. The general atendance while not large was thoroughly representative of what is educationally best in the state, and every one present was enthusiastic in regard to the success of the meeting. The History Department of the Asociation has especial cause for pride in that its meetings were better attended than ever before, the interest shown in its proceedings was very great, and the work accomplished for history teaching very important.

The members of the history section gathered for the first session in Room 4 of the Moberly High School, at two o'clock Thursday afternoon, December 27th. The proceedings were opened by an address from the chairman, Professor N. M. Trenholme, of the University of Missouri, on the subject of "Past and Present Methods in the Teaching of History." In this address, after sketching the progress of history teaching in the United States during the nineteenth century and especially during the last twenty-five years, the speaker proceeded to point out how the teaching of history had improved in regard to the scope of the course of study and the time given to the subject, in regard to the character of the text-books, reference books, including sources, maps and other aids to proper history teaching, and finally in regard to the character and training of teachers and the methods used in imparting a knowledge of history to students. At the same time, while great advances have been made, teachers must guard against the danger of being superficial in their work, and relying too much on machinery in their teaching of the different subjects of the history course. The speaker, in taking up special methods, advocated a discussion method in class work in which both pupils and teacher contribute to the topic for the day, this method being preferable to the old style recitation by the pupils alone or the lecture method which is unsuited for high school work. Sources were recommended as illustrative material to supplement the text-book account, but the so-called source method was unfavorably commented on.

After the Chairman's address the regular programme was taken up and a series of papers read on the course of study in history in the various classes of schools. Superintendent O'Rear of Boonville gave a very interesting exposition of what he considered the history work of the grades should consist of, and made a strong plea for broader work in history in our elementary schools, as will be seen in another part of this department of the Review. In the absence of Superintendent Wylie of Chillicothe, who was to have read the paper on the "High School Course of Study", the Chairman introduced the subject of the high school course and invited a short discussion from members. Various aspects of high school work in history were then discussed by Mr. Baker of Joplin, Mr. Myers of Princeton (Mo.), and Miss Anna Gilday of the Manual Training High School, who declared himself in favor of a broad system of correlated courses in History, Civics, and Economics. The third paper was by Professor Jesse Lewis of the Maryville Normal School on the "Course of Study in History in Normal Schools", in which it was pointed out that the scope of Normal School work in history was necessarily limited on account of the demands of other subjects, and that probably the most satisfactory course would be one embracing a general survey of Ancient History and Mediaeval and Modern History, supplemented by special courses in English and American History, and professional work. As the last contribution on the course of study Professor Rullkoetter, of Drury College delivered an address on the "College Course of Study in History", laying emphasis on the value of Mediaeval History as the basic college course and on the culture ideals in connection with history teaching in colleges. When this address was over the whole question of the course of study was thrown open for general discussion, and lively interest was shown in the points that had been raised. In addition to the Chairman and the readers of the papers, this discussion was participated in by Mr. Gromer, University of Missouri, Mr. Jones, Kirksville, Mr. S. F. Browne, Washington University, St. Louis, and Mr. Brown, Shelbyville.

At the second session, held at the same place as the first, on Friday afternoon, December 28th, a business meeting of the department preceded the programme. After hearing the minutes of the last annual meeting read, reports from committees were called for by the Chairman and Mr. Eugene Fair on behalf of the Committe on the Relations of the Department to the State Historical Society, and its organ, the **Missouri Historical Review**, reported in favor of the Department adopting the **Review** as its official organ. This was carried unanimously by the meeting. Miss Anna C. Gilday then reported on behalf of a special committee on future organization and meetings of the department in favor of semiannual instead of annual meetings. After considerable discussion as to the time and place of the second meeting, it being understood that the Department would always meet once each year with the State Teachers' Association, it was decided to leave the question of time and place to a committee of three to be appointed by the Chairman, he himself to be one of the three. The members seemed strongly in favor of a second meeting, and a suggestion by Mr. J. T. Vaughn of Kirksville that a meeting be arranged each year in conjunction with the State Historical Society was favorably received. There being no further special business the election of officers for 1907 took place as follows: Chairman, Professor E. M. Violette of Kirksville; Secretary, Miss Anna C. Gilday of Kansas City; Department Editor on the Missouri Historical

Review, Mr. Eugene Fair of Kirksville; Representative to the Educational Council, three year term, Professor N. M. Trenholm of the University of Missouri.

At the close of the business meeting an interesting and profitable Round Table Conference was held which was opened by a paper from Mr. E. V. Vaughn of the University of Missouri on "Library Work in Connection with History in High Schools". A lively general discussion ensued in the course of which several good plans for school library management came to light. There was also considerable discussion as to the use and value of historical fiction in the study of history, but all present were seemingly agreed that valuable as fiction might be for purposes of inspiring interest and arousing enthusiasm for historical study, it could not occupy any really serious place as a part of the student's work in history. The above discussions were participated in by many of the leading history teachers in the state who were present at this session, and furnished valuable suggestions as to library methods in history work; those who contributed especially to the discussion were Professor J. T. Vaughn of Kirksville, Professor Demand of Warrensburg, Professor Lewis of Maryville, Professor Fair of Kirksville, Miss Gilday of Kansas City, Mr. Gromer of the University of Missouri, Mrs. McLaughlin of Kansas City, Mr. Jones of Kirksville, Messrs. Scott and Harmon of Marshall, Miss Milam of Macon, and the Chairman, who summed up the discussion.

At the close of the sessions it seemed to be the general opinion of all present that the History Department had had an extraordinarily good meeting, and that it promised well for the future. At each of the sessions there was a maximum attendance of over forty members, all of whom showed great interest in the proceedings. The retiring officers feel gratified at the support they received at the hands of their fellow history teachers and wish to their successors an even more successful year.

N. M. TRENHOLME, Chairman,
EUGENE FAIR, Secretary.

A BRIEF ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF REFERENCE BOOKS FOR HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY.

Part I. .Ancient History.

Abbott, Pericles, "Heroes of the Nations", Putnams......1.50

An excellent popular biography on the great Athenian statesman.

Botsford, A History of the Orient and Greece, Macmillan 1.20

————, A History of Rome, Macmillan, ... 1.10

————, The Story of Rome as Greeks and Romans Tell It, Macmillan .... .90

Two excellent short histories and a useful source-book.

Bury, a History of Greece, Macmillan................. 1.75

The standard one volume history of Greece. Of special value to teachers and advanced pupils.

Church, Stories of the East from Herodotus, Dodd, Mead 1.00

Interesting illustrative material from the first great historian.

Epochs of Ancient History, edited by Cox and Sankey, 10 vols., Longmans, Green, ... 10.00

A good small reference library consisting of Cox, "Greeks and Persians," and "Athenian Empire;" Sankey, "Spartan and Theban Supremacy;" Curteis, "Macedonian Empire;" Ihne, "Early Rome to its Capture by the Gauls;" Smith, "Rome and Carthage, the Punic Wars;" Beesly, "Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla;" Merivale, "Roman Triumvirates;" Capes, "Roman Empire (Early)," and "Roman Empire (Age of the Antonines).

Fling, European History Studies, vol. I, "Ancient Period", Ainsworth .... .50

A well selected series of source extracts for Greek and Roman History.

Fowler, Caesar, "Heroes of the Nations," Putnams.... 1.00

A good clear account of the career of the founder of the Empire.

Gayley, Classic Myths, Ginn & Co., ... 1.50

A very interesting and readable treatment of the legendary and mythological aspect of Greek and Roman times.

Goodspeed, History of the Babylonians and Assyrians, Scribners, ... 1.25

A valuable short history for the Oriental period of Ancient History.

Granrud, Roman Constitutional History, Allyn and Bacon, ... 1.25

Gives much useful information in a clear way about Roman government.

Gulick, The Life of the Ancient Greeks, Appleton, ... 1.40

Treats in a clear and scholarly way of Greek society and customs.

How and Legh, History of Rome to the Death of Caesar, Longmans, Green, ... 2.00

Among the best one volume histories of the Roman period.

Mahaffy, Story of Alexander's Empire, "Nations", Putnams, ... 1.50

———, Old Greek Life, "History Primers", American Book Co., ... 1.50

Two popular and usable reference books by an important writer.

Maspero, Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria, Putnams, .. 1.50

One of the best short accounts of Oriental civilization.

Morey, Outlines of Greek History, Amer. Book Co., ... 1.00

———, Outlines of Roman History. Amer. Book Co., ... 1.00

Two very servicable little histories for collateral reading.

Munro, A Source Book of Roman History, Heath & Co., .. 1.00

An intereseting selection of the best and most usable sources.

Murray, Small Classical Atlas for Schools, Clarendon Press, N. Y. 1.50

An excellent reference atlas for ancient history and geography.

Oman, History of Greece, Longmans, Green 1.50

———, Seven Roman Statesmen of the Later Republic, Longmans, Green 1.60

Oman's "Greece" is well known as a valuable reference book. His account of the leading Roman statesmen is a new book which should find a welcome.

Pelham, Outlines of Roman History to 476 A. D., ... Putnams, ... 1.75

This is undoubtedly the best one volume history of Rome.

Plutarch, Lives of Noble Greeks and Romans, translated by Stewart and Long, 4 vols., Macmillan 4.00

Though sometimes inaccurate Plutarch's famous "Lives" are always worth reading and study as important sources.

Seignobos, History of Ancient Civilization, trans. by A. H. Wilde, Scribners.......................... 1.25

The best general account of ancient civilization and culture well translated into English from French.

Tarbell, History of Greek Art, Macmillan, ... 1.00

The most useful brief account of the art of Greece.

Tozer, Classical Geography, "History Primers", Amer. Book Co. .... .35

Wendel, History of Egypt, "History Primers", Amer. Book Co. 35

Two serviceable little books.

Wheeler, Alexander the Great, "Heroes of the Nations", Putnams, ... 1.50

An inspiring account of the great general and conqueror and his work.

(To be continued for the Mediaeval and Modern Period in the next number of the Review.)

NOTES AND NEWS OF INTEREST TO HISTORY TEACHERS.

This year has seen a number of changes and additions to the teaching staffs of the various departments of history in the state institutions. At the University of Missouri Dr. Jonas Viles has been promoted to the chair of American History, being the first full professor in that subject to be appointed. Mr. C. C. Eckhardt, instructor in European History, is on leave of absence for one year and is studying for the Ph. D. degree in modern history at Cornell University, where he holds a scholarship. Mr. Eckhardt will be back for the session of 1907-8, but at present his place is being very satisfactorily filled by Dr. C. C. Crawford from the University of Wisconsin. Mr. S. D. Gromer, formerly of the Stanberry Normal School but more recently a graduate student at Harvard and Columbia, is filling the position of instructor in History and Economics. At the Kirksville Normal School Professor E. M. Violette is on leave of absence and holds a scholarship in the Harvard Graduate School. His position is being filled by Professor Fair, who is acting head of the department, while Mr. Pooley, from the University of Wisconsin, is handling the courses in English and European History formerly given by Professor Violette. At the Maryville Normal School Professor Jesse Lewis is organizing the work of the History Department in a thorough and efficient manner. The history appointee at the Springfield Normal has seemingly not been announced as yet. In the high schools in the state there has been a growing tendency to appoint only specialists in history to history positions, and in consequence the caliber of history teachers in high schools is steadily improving.

The following new high school texts in history and reference works have been recently published—Harding, Essentials in Midiaeval and Modern History, American Book Co.; Myers, General History, Revised Edition, Ginn & Co.; Morey, Outlines of Ancient History, American Book Co.; and Seignobos, History of Ancient Civilization, (trans. from the French by A. H. Wilde), Scribners; short reviews of Harding, of Morey and of Seignobos, will appear in the next number ow the Review.

Professor N. M. Trenholme of the University of Missouri has accepted an invitation to give the Mediaeval History course in the Summer School of Harvard University. As the work at Harvard will not begin until well into July it is probable that Professor Trenholme will teach during a part of the Summer Session at Columbia, giving advanced work in European History.

Missouri was represented at the meetings of the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Economic Association, at Providence, R. I., by Mr. F. A. Sampson of the State Historical Society, Professor Isidor Loeb of the Department of Political Science, University of Missouri, and Mr. C C. Eckhardt of the Department of History, University of Missouri, now on leave of absence at Cornell. The attendance at the meetings was large and representative and a most interesting programme of papers and discussions was carried through. The three great associations will meet next Christmas at Madison, Wis., under the auspices of the University of Wisconsin, and as many Missouri teachers of history as can should attend that meeting.

Courses of Extension Lectures in History are being conducted by the History Department of the University of Missouri as follows: At Kansas City, courses on "The Age of the Renaissance" and on the "History of Western Europe"; at Joplin and Webb City, a course on "England During the Modern Age". The interest shown at all three places is excellent and the attendance good. The courses are being given by Professor Trenholme.

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

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HISTORIC LANDMARKS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.*

NO. 2.

Your committee on "Old Landmarks" begs leave to make the following report:

T. S. Byrd, our efficient secretary, in a letter to the committee says:

"Uncle Mitch" thinks that the first cabin on the Plattin was built by his grandfather in 1802 on the old Byrd tract, Spanish survey 1245. The exact spot is in the field about 80 yards from the Plattin's bank opposite from my father's old house. "Uncle Mitch" says his grandfather's nearest neighbor on the one hand was at Bailey Station, about 8 miles, and on the other at the Isle au Bois, about 7 miles. His grandfather was at the present site of DeSoto before a cabin was built there, but chose the Plattin wilds instead as a place to try his fortune. The "Mitch" mentioned in this letter is Mitchell McCormack, now living on the Plattin. His father's name was Hardy McCormack, and his grandfather, who built the cabin, was Peter McCormack, who came from Ireland to Virginia, where he married. From there he moved to Kentucky, where Hardy McCormack was born in 1799, and then he came to this territory and settled in 1802.

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* Report of the Committee on Landmarks, Old Settlers' Association of Jefferson County, 1900, prepared by Judge John L. Thomas.

James Head built a cabin at the big spring, known as House's spring, on the Spanish grant 666 in 1795, but moved away in 1796 and Adam House moved into the cabin and lived there until 1800, when he was killed by the Indians. His head was cut off, placed in the fork of a large elm tree near the spring, and a piece of maple sugar which he himself had made was put in his mouth. House's son was badly wounded by the Indians at the same time but made his escape, went to the settlement at Kimmswick and gave the alarm. The settlers organized a company and William Moss, father of the late Thomas Moss and grandfather of James T. and T. R. Moss, was elected captain. The company overtook the Indians on Indian creek, in what is now Washington county, where they defeated the savages, killing many of them and driving the others away. These Indians were of the Osage tribe.

Judge M. F. Byrne informs the committee that Elias Burgess, while digging a foundation for a new brick house at House Springs many years ago, dug up some human bones, which were supposed to be the remains of Adam House. The springs were named for House.

John Boli built a cabin on survey No. 604 on Romine's creek, and opened a small farm there in 1788. The Court of Quarter Sessions of St. Louis county granted John Boli a license to keep a ferry over the Meramec river, 3 miles from Fish Pot creek. Fish Pot creek is now know as ————, and the ferry was kept at a point opposite the present residence of ————. On the 18th day of December, 1806, Bartholomew Herrington and John Romine were appointed overseers of a road leading from John Boli's on the Meramec to the Plattin river.

About the year 1800 William Null settled at Hematite and built a cabin near to and east of the Null mill now there. Null and his wife were from Pennsylvania and had been legally married there, but before he could take up any land in this territory, which was then under Spanish control, he was compelled to marry his wife again to conform to the Spanish law on the subject of marriage. Mr. Null was called out twice to fight the Indians—once at Cape Girardeau and once at St. Louis. He also served in the Blackhawk war.

Indian Graveyards and Remains.

John D. Hearst reports that there is an Indian graveyard near the center of the northwest quarter of the northwest quarter section 15, township 39, range 3 east, covering about five acres—one hundred graves probably being found. The bodies were from one and one-half to two feet under ground, laid face downward with stones on each side and over the top. The graveyard is about 150 yards from Big river, on second bottom, but not above high water mark. Pots and pipes were found in the graves. The pots were made of clay and mussel shells pounded up; the largest would hold one-half gallon and the smallest one a half pint. These were in the shape of gourds—flat on bottom with necks from one to two inches long. One pipe was found which was supposed to be the Pipe of Peace. It was about six inches square and three inches thick with bowl in top two and a half inches deep and eight holes around base for stem. It was made of common stone. Other stone pipes with single hole for stem each were found. A stone pestle, rounded on the lower end and with handle, used probably for grinding paint, was also found between the feet of a human body. The pots and pipes were found at the heads of the graves.

There was another Indian graveyard, larger than the one described above, about two hundred yards from Big river, above high water mark, on land now owned by Arthur Barrows, in section 25, township 39, range 3 east. Pots and pipes were found in this graveyard similar to those found in the other. A steel sword with blade two feet long was found in one of the graves, which the whites used to cut corn after it was found.

Across Big river from Barrows place and about a quarter of a mile from the river is a mound about fifteen feet across and ten feet high, made entirely of moory rock without mortar and without opening on top or sides.

At the mouth of the Mineral Fork of Big River there is a plat of ground known as the "boat yard" which took its name from the fact that a boat was loaded there with lead in very early times, and in its voyage down the river it was capsized and the cargo was lost and a negro lost his life, and that ended the navigation of Big River, as far as the lead trade was concerned.

The "boat yard" is filled with pieces of pottery, mussel shells and burnt corn cobs, indicating that a pot and pipe factory existed there once. The burnt corn cobs were found several feet beneath the surface. There is a mound in this yard, fiften feet across and eight feet high, made entirely of dirt and is solid. Chunks of lead ore, round as croquet balls and from three to six inches in diameter, were also found but they were subsequently smelted into lead. Mr. Hearst had no idea what these were used for.

About a quarter of a mile north of Mineral Fork was found a likeness of a squaw in the face of a cliff. The likeness was about eight inches long and there were some hieroglyphics over it. Prof. Collet cut this figure out of the rocks about fifteen years ago and it is now in the St. Louis museum.

There is an Indian graveyard in the bottom about two hundred yards from Big river on the east half of the northeast quarter of section 4, township 40, range 3 east, now owned by John S. McKay. Human bones were found in this graveyard and they had been buried so shallow that the bones were uncovered by the plow in ordinary cultivation for corn. Two large earthen pots or jugs which would hold a gallon or more each were also uncovered, but upon being exposed to the air a short time they crumbled to pieces.

Mr. W. S. Jewett says that there is a large Indian mound where Stephen Hug built his house near Plattin Rock, and another in Hug's garden. In the latter were found a large quantity of Indian pottery, some of which were very large, similar to an old-fashioned gas retort. An old colored man in making an excavation in this mound to make a hotbed for Mrs. John S. Deadrick, broke most of the pottery, supposing it to be of no consequence. "In the river bank," says Mr. Jewett, "just below the Plattin Rock, there was quite a deposit of small pieces of Indian pottery, as if there had been a factory or kiln at this place, charcoal being interspersed among the broken pottery."

In digging a cellar for the Crystal Boarding house, they found several pieces of pottery, but below the Indian pottery, some several feet below the surface, they found human remains; and in a skull found there was a small hole, and in cleaning away the dirt a leaden bullet was discovered in the skull.

The First Protestant Religious Services in the County.

Rev. W. S. Woodward, in an article written for the DeSoto Epworth League, October, 1898, said: "There was a large rock in the river near the mouth of the Joachim creek to which John Clark, a local Methodist preacher living in Illinois, came in 1798, possibly in October, on which he stood, and from which as a pulpit he preached the first Protestant sermon ever proclaimed and heard on the sunset side of 'The Father of Waters.'" Mr. W. S. Jewett, being asked to locate precisely this rock, informed the committee that it must have been what was known in early times as Bates' Rock, about one-half mile below the mouth of the Joachim. Mr. Jewett, in his letter, says: "It (Bates' Rock) is a suitable place to accommodate a large gathering, the rock at low water extending a considerable distance out into the river (say 100 feet) and several hundred feet along the shore, and being always kept clean of mud and drift by the strong currents of that place. There are also many large and smaller rocks fallen from the high limestone bluffs that would make suitable pulpits and seats for a large congregation. This place is convenient to Herculaneum, and would be the point where the people would be most apt to congregate, and is a very pleasant place of a summer's evening in the shade of the high bluffs and overhanging trees, with a pleasant breeze coming up the river. The larger portion of Rev. Clark's pulpit and pews have gone in the way of riprapping to confine 'The Father of Waters' to his bed."

Old Roads.

In our report last year we gave the history of King's Trace road, established in 1776 by Jean Baptiste Gomache under the authority of the King of Spain, from St. Louis via lower ferry on the Meramec, along the state road near Kimmswick, Sulphur Springs, by John Herrington's residence near Pevely, thence across the Joachim near Horine Station, across the hills to Rock Fort, via Robert Gamble's old residence and Judge Madison's farm to Ste. Genevieve. This was the first road established by authority in the territory included in our county. As early as 1806 there was a public road leading from John Boli's on the Meramec to the Plattin river. John Boli then lived at the mouth of Romine creek, and from the best information that your committee could get that road ran from Boli's residence.

On the first Monday in March, 1808, James Rankin (the father of the late Louis J. and Charles S. Rankin), James Steward and Thomas Comstock were appointed by the Court of Quarter Sessions of St. Louis District to locate a road from the town of St. Louis via Conolone's Ford on the Meramec to the Plattin river. It is supposed this road followed the old King's Trace road at least as far as Joshua Herrington's, near Pevely. As Herculaneum had in 1808 become a shipping point of some importance it may be this road left the Old King's Trace at Herrington's and ran east of where Pevely now stands and thence over the hill via Captain Ziegler's house to Herculaneum and from there across the hills to the Plattin, following what was afterwards known as Farmington road, or it may be that this old road followed the King's Trace all the way to the Plattin.

In the beginning of this century a road ran from Herculaneum to Mine a Burton (now Potosi) which has almost disappeared from the map. Mr. Jewett, however, traces this old road thus: Commencing at Bates' Landing where the southeast line of survey 3028 strikes the Mississippi river, thence southwest (south of creek) to upper end of the bottom, thence up the hill to the corner of sections 29 and 32 through the lands of E. Williams to present Pevely road, thence south to the northeast corner of George Bennett's land (a five acre tract) where it intersects the road from shot tower. The road from the shot tower began 100 yards south of Bates' Landing, thence south past the old Deaderick house and southwest along Bates' reservation (10 acres in section 29), thence west through lands of Williams and Holdinghouse to Bennett's northeast corner as above. The united road then ran from Bennett's northeast corner a short distance, where it again forked. The north fork, which was apparently the oldest, ran through Bennett's land in section 32 and Steward's land in section 31 to Steward's southwest corner, crossing the Bonne Terre railroad at the deepest part of the cut in the sand rock, thence southwest through Burkhart's land, W. B. Kenner's land in survey 1936, thence southwest going on the south side of C. G. Warne's house and springs and crossing the telegraph on Ste. Genevieve road on the west side of Warne's spring, thence southwest through lands of Aaron Moore to top of ridge, crossing King's Trace (which ran west of Rock Fort) and Crystal railroad at the deep cut between Silica and Festus, thence south along the ridge through lands of A. Moore, Mary Swink, R. P. Baker and E. Whitaker to a narrow ridge near Edwards' old school house, where it intersects the south fork. The south fork commenced at Bennett's northeast corner, thence south to the northwest corner of Hug's land in survey 160, thence southwest through lands of Kenner and A. C. Moore, crossing the Festus road at the foot of the hill, thence through Romine's land and Festus and thence through lands of John Gamel to the south side of the Gamel cemetery, thence southwest through lands of Gamel, Buren and Whitaker to the intersection of the north fork as above; thence the united road ran where the present road runs by W. P. Brent's, the old Dr. Minor place to the old Skeel place, except that it kept the main ridge. From the old Skeel place it ran along the ridge dividing the waters of the Joachim and Plattin by James Reed's place in section 34, township 40, range 5, and thence through sections 3, 4, 9, 17 and 18, township 39, range 5, crossing the Joachim creek near the residence of Judge T. J. Donnell in section 24, township 39, range 4, and thence southwest through sections 25 and 35, township 39, range 4, by the Gum Spring on the Wilkinson place, and thence through the southern portion of sections 34, 33 and 32, township 39, range 4, crossing Big River at the old Blackwell ford, and from there on to Potosi or Mine a Burton. Another road, leading from Rush Tower to this Blackwell ford and went by Cole's mill and Vinegar Hill, and there was a road from Selma to the intersection of the Herculaneum road at or near the old Skeel place. I have marked the old King's Trace road and this Herculaneum road on the county map with black ink.

Old County Lines.

Hon. F. A. Rozier, in his history of the settlement of the Mississippi valley, said that this terrritory was laid off into five districts—St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid—in 1769 by the Spanish government, and that the boundary line between St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve districts was the Meramec river, and that on October 1, 1804, Wm. H. Harrison, governor of the Indiana territory, to which the Louisiana Purchase was at first attached for governmental purposes, established the same five districts as they existed previously. Your committee has not been able to verify Mr. Rozier's statement by any authority whatever. As to the lines established in 1769 we are unable to give an opinion, but we are satisfied the Meramec was not the line between the districts of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve in 1804, for Benj. Johnson, who lived south of the Meramec in what it now Jefferson county, was one of the judges of the Court of Quarter Sessions of St. Louis district in 1804, and in 1806 the Court of Quarter Sessions of St. Louis district made an assessment district of the territory lying between the Meramec and Plattin rivers. We infer from these and other orders of the Court that Plattin river was the line between St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve districts from 1804 to 1813. By an act of the Territorial Legislature of 1813 the lines between St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve districts, through what is now Jefferson county, were defined thus: "Commence in the main channel of the Mississippi river opposite the upper line of a tract of land owned by August Choteau, which is about half way between the mouth of Plattin and Joachim rivers; thence running in a direct line to a point on the dividing ridge between those waters where Wright's road falls into the road leading from the town of Herculaneum to Mine a Burton thence along said road to a point thereon immediately opposite a noted spring, called the Dripping Springs, which is 200 yards south of the road; thence on a direct line to the mouth of the Mineral Fork of Grand River," etc.

The land owned by August Choteau is survey 160. We can not definitely ascertain what road was known in 1813 as Wright's road, but we believe it was along the old King's Trace route, and if the supposition be true the point where Wright's road fell into the Herculaneum road in 1813 was on the ridge where the deep cut is on the Crystal City railroad between Silica and Festus. The Dripping Springs referred to in the Act of 1813 is on the north line of the east half of the southeast quarter of section 24, township 40, range 5 east, about halfway between the northeast and northwest corners thereof. We have marked this line between St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve counties, from the beginning to the western boundary of the county in red ink. It is evident the Legislature ran this line so as to put all the inhabitants of the Joachim and its tributaries in St. Louis county and all the inhabitants of the Plattin and its tributaries in Ste. Genevieve county. You will observe that the line ran just south of DeSoto, which is situated in survey 2008, and that in 1813 was the most southern settlement on the Joachim and was put in St. Louis county. Prior to the formation of Jefferson county in 1818 all deeds to lands south of the Plattin were recorded in Ste. Genevieve county and all north of the Plattin in St. Louis county.

Conclusion.

We received a communication from Judge Kirk, accompanied with a history of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran church, of Rock township, prepared by Rev. Peter Weslech, the present pastor, and a history of the Immaculate Conception at Maxville, prepared by Rev. Father Schulte, but we have not incorporated these histories in this report for two reasons, viz: First—The churches were founded in 1843 and 1848, and at present we are dealing with landmarks at the beginning of this century; and, second—We do not deem landmarks that are preserved by records to be within the scope of our duty to locate, but deem it our duty to locate such landmarks only as can be located by men and women who knew them and of which there is no other written record anywhere. We return the histories of these churches to the society and recommend that they be read as a part of the history of the county and preserved among the archives. We ought to have prepared a large wall outline of Jefferson county with the streams and old Spanish grants laid out on it, upon which could be designated hereafter the old landmarks which the committee has already located or may hereafter locate, and this will take some money. In view of this we recommend that steps be taken to raise a fund to put the work of this committee in such a shape that it will be of some use to us and to those who come after us.

This report was kindly typewritten for us free of charge by Miss Adele Cheatham, under supervision of Prof. G. W. Moothart, president of DeSoto Commercial College, for which they have received the thanks of this committee and should receive the thanks of this society.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

THE COMMITTEE.

MISSOURI HISTORY AS ILLUSTRATED BY GEORGE C. BINGHAM.

George Caleb Bingham, in painting the picture by which he is best known throughout the southwest, "General Order No. 11, or Civil War on the Border," recorded the final outcome of a series of events of almost unparalleled, and certainly of an unsurpassed violence in the history of the Civil War.

For in the border counties of Missouri the war was fought with a peculiar bitterness growing out of a long train of events, with long cherished resentments and a deep sense of injury on both sides. The strife following upon the Kansas-Nebraska act and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was the fruitful source of this bitterness. It is difficult to determine at whose door lay the greater blame; each side soon claimed that its fiercest measures were largely retaliatory. Early in the war, Lane and Jennison, of Kansas, made predatory raids into Missouri during which their soldiers robbed and looted unrebuked. In September of '61, Colonel Jennison, 7th Kansas calvary, temporarily stationed at Kansas City, made a raid upon Independence. His "red-legs" (so called from the color of their riding boots, worn outside their trousers) plundered and despoiled the citizens, taking back into Kansas with them much blooded stock and wagon loads of household furniture. This species of raiding by Jennison's men was kept up at intervals, loyal men suffering as well as the secessionists.

In addition to the civil strife, there existed what President Lincoln characterized as a "pestilent factional squabble" which he greatly deplored, and which he more than once mentions as troubling him out of measure. The two factions of the Union party were almost as venomously opposed to each other as they were to the Secessionists. Men of the same party did not scruple to call in question each others' peculiar brand of loyalty; and the terms "claybanks" and "charcoal" were bandied back and forth unsparingly. The moderate and conservative man looked with fear and deprecation upon his radical ally; in turn, the radical distrusted his "claybank" colleague. He argued that the time for compromise had gone by; "the policy of conciliation had already paralyzed the military arm." "The time is past," says the Missouri Democrat of the day, "for the good-Lord-and-good-devil policy. Mr. Facing-both-ways' occupation is gone." "Everybody," it has been said, "was proposing to impeach everybody else." A song current in the rural districts, and sung to the tune of "John Brown," had for its refrain:

"Governor Gamble doesn't want to go to Heaven;
He's afraid he'll meet John Brown."

As time passed on, Governor Gamble and General S. R. Curtis, then in command of the Department of Missouri, found an ever increasing difficulty in working together. This resulted in the final removal of General Curtis by the President, and the appointment of General Sumner in his stead. General Sumner, however, dying while en route to take command, General Schofield was appointed to the vacancy. President Lincoln in his letter to General Schofield on his appointment, recognizes the complicated situation and the well-nigh impossible task it would be for any one in authority so to conduct himself as to leave his motives or acts unassailed by some. The President says: "If both factions or neither shall assail you, you will probably be about right. Beware of being assailed by one and praised by the other." He counsels moderation and impartiality; counsel which caused the radical press to speak with but thinly veiled sarcasm of "our merciful President." Later, the same medium clamored for the removal of General Schofield and the appointment of "A MAN" (so printed in the Missouri Democrat) in his stead. "The Lawrence massacre," said the fire-eaters, after that tragedy, "is the fruit of conciliation."

General Schofield, upon taking command in Missouri, created the military districts of "the Border," and "the Frontier," the former under Brigadier-General Thomas Ewing, Jr., with headquarters at Kansas City. General Ewing, in a speech at Olathe, Johnson county, thus declared himself: "I hope soon to have troops enough on the Missouri side not only to prevent raids into Kansas, but also to drive out or exterminate every band of guerrillas now haunting that region. I will keep a thousand men in saddle daily, and will redden with their blood every bridle-path of the border until they infest it no more........I mean, moreover, to stop with a rough hand all forays for plunder from Kansas into Missouri."

He went on to speak of the men who, while boasting their loyalty, had failed to join the army upon pretext of not liking the so-called half-way measures of the government, claiming that they better served the cause by a system of predatory warfare upon the rebels. He called these recreants severely to account, warning them that they would be summarily dealt with unless they came under authority and enlisted either with the state militia or with the enrolled militia. Thus he put himself on record as determined to punish both bushwhacker and jayhawker impartially. But there were those who doubted his sincerity, accusing him of being more politician than soldier. Bingham, with brush and pen, sought to prove him actuated by motives of personal advancement.

No doubt, Ewing was disliked and distrusted as a Kansas man. General Schofield, in his "Forty-six years in the army" says: "This struggle between extereme radicalism and conservatism among the Union people of Missouri was long and bitter........This struggle in Missouri gave the military commander trouble enough in 1863; but to it was added the similar and hardly less troublesome party quarrel in Kansas." He found himself hampered by it at every turn when he went to the Border and to Leavenworth after the Lawrence massacre.

It was on the 19th of August, 1863, that the guerilla chief, Quantrell, and his men fell upon Lawrence at daylight and massacred the defenseless citizens. The affair is described by witnesses as one of shocking barbarity, unequaled in civilized warfare. Major General Halleck, General-in-Chief of operations in the Departments of Missouri and the Northwest, says in his report: "A large part of the military force in the Department of the Missouri has been employed during the past year in repelling raids and in repressing the guerilla bands or robbers and murderers who have come within our lines or been organized in the country........It is exceedingly difficult to eradicate these bands, inasmuch as the inhabitants of the country, sometimes from disloyalty and sometimes from fear, afford them subsistence and concealment........In the recent raid of one of these bands into Kansas, they burned the city of Lawrence and murdered the inhabitants without regard to age or sex, committing atrocities more inhuman than those of Indian savages.

"These are the terrible results of a border contest, incited at first for political purposes, and since increased in animosity by the civil war in which we are engaged, till all sense of humanity seems to have been lost in the desire to avenge with blood real or fancied grievances. This extraordinary state of affairs on that frontier seems to call for the application of a prompt and severe remedy. It has been proposed to depopulate the frontier counties of Missouri, and to lay waste the border so as to prevent its furnishing any shelter or subsistence to these bands of murderers. Such measures are within the recognized laws of war; they were adopted by Wellington in Portugal, and by the Russian armies in the campaign of 1812; but they should be adopted only in case of overruling necessity. The execution of General Schofield's order on this subject has been suspended, and it is hoped that it will not be necessary hereafter to renew it."

General Schofield, in his report of the Lawrence massacre, says: "If milder means shall fail, the commanding general will order the destruction or seizure of all houses, barns or provisions, and other property of disloyal persons in those portions of the state which are made the haunts of the guerillas."

On the twenty-fifth of August, General Ewing, returning from his pursuit of Quantrell, issued his "General Order No. 11," here given:

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE BORDER.

Kansas City, Mo., August 25, 1863.

"**First**—All persons living in Cass, Jackson, and Bates counties, Missouri, and that part of Vernon included in this district, except those living within one mile of Independence, Hickman's Mills, Pleasant Hill, and Harrisonville, and except those in that part of Kaw township, Jackson county, north of Brush creek and west of the Big Blue, embracing Kansas City and Westport, are hereby ordered to remove from their present places of residence within fifteen days from the date hereof.

"Those who, within that time, establish their loyalty to the satisfaction of the commanding officer of the military station nearest their present places of residence, will receive from him certificates stating the fact of their loyalty and the names of the witnesses by whom it can be shown. All who receive such certificates will be permitted to remove to any military station in this district, or to any part of Kansas, except the counties on the eastern borders of the state. All others shall remove out of this district.

"Officers commanding companies and detachments serving in the counties named, will see that this paragraph is promptly obeyed.

"**Second**—All grain or hay in the field, or under shelter in the district from which the inhabitants are required to move within reach of military stations, after the 9th day of September next, will be taken to such stations and turned over to the proper officers there; and report of the amount so turned over made to the district headquarters, specifying the names of all loyal owners and the amount of such produce taken from them. All grain and hay found in such districts after the 9th day of September next, not convenient to such stations, will be destroyed.

"H. HANNAHS, Adjutant.

"By order of Brigadier-General Ewing."

It was this order which furnished the text of Bingham's picture. "I will make him infamous on canvas," was what our artist, always ready with tongue and pen no less than with brush, said. His avowed intention was to "render odious the man and his measures."

General Schofield, upon his visit to the stricken district, confirmed that part of the order relative to the depopulation. Though severe, he deemed it a necessity. But he rescinded the part commanding the destruction of property. Of course, there is always the contention as to how great was the devastation before General Schofield's modification of Ewing's order went into effect. The picture under consideration is held to portray an actual occurrence not far from Independence. Of this occurrence there were, it is to be feared, far too many counterparts.

In Bingham's painting, the prairie spreads out before us until, in the distance, it meets the sky. The horizon is murky with the columns of smoke rising from burning fields. From out this dimness, long wagon trains, laden with a sorrowing people, wind toward us. In the foreground, on the left, is a homestead from which the soldiers are in the act of ejecting its occupants. From a balcony some are throwing household goods which are being loaded on army wagons and driven away. The central group is composed of the figure of an old man, evidently the master of the house, who stands, one hand clenched in anger and despair, the other outstretched in defiant protest toward a soldier who is drawing his revolver. The old man's daughter hangs about his neck, as if both to protect and calm him. At his feet, in the arms of her old black mammy, lies his fainting wife. It is his son, without doubt, whom the soldier has just shot down, and who lies dead before him— whose young wife is prostrate upon his lifeless body. Two negroes are fleeing in terror; the elder, his face buried in his hands, we feel to be a faithful servant, heartbroken at the disasters which have befallen his master. The picture is dramatic in composition, and even yet we feel in looking at it, a degree of emotion which makes it easy to understand how deep would be its impression upon a community to many of whom it would recall a personal experience or at least serve to revive and make more real the oft repeated story told by a friend who had suffered.

Fourteen years later, Bingham followed up the work of his brush by his no less lurid pen-picture of "General Order No. 11." Ewing was then candidate for democratic governor of Ohio. Bingham, at that time adjutant-general of Missouri, was in Washington, attempting to adjust some war claims for his state. He published in the Washintgon Sentinel, an article written in the style of the literary productions of the day, for Bingham was held to write and speak with finish as well as with vigor. He probably was not responsible for the sensational headlines.

He says: "While this new aspirant to the leadership of the democratic party was in military command in 1863, with his headquarters at Kansas City, he ordered the arrest of a number of females, whom he confined in a large three-story brick building........These females were arrested and confined under the pretext of holding them as **hostages** for the good behavior of their brothers, husbands or relations who were supposed to be in sympathy with or actively engaged in the Confederate cause; but those familiar with the workings of the human mind and the motives which prompt men to desperate deeds, would have clearly foreseen that their confinement and subjection to the insults of a coarse, ignorant and not infrequently licentious soldiery, would naturally have an effect the very opposite of that which this **worthy** acquisition to the democratic party pretended to have in view........The more these persons could be excited to deeds of diabolism, the more the Union men of Missouri and their exposed families would be compelled to suffer, and the more he would advance himself in the favor of a large and corrupt political element in the state of Kansas. ....A still further and crowning outrage was therefore to be perpetrated, of which these helpless females were to be the victims."

He explains quite at length, the lamentable fate which befell these poor women (whom he generally designates as females). The house in which they were confined collapsed, killing them. It had for some time been condemned and reported as unsafe; and the prisoners had begged to be removed. But their prayers were in vain. In the words of Bingham: "While their prison walls were trembling, its doors remained closed, and they were allowed to hope for no release except through the portals of a horrible death. ...."The fact that no inquiry was instituted by General Ewing........and no soldier punished........renders it impossible for him to escape responsibility therefor, and also for tragedies resulting therefrom, in the death of hundreds of Union soldiers and citizens of Missouri, as well as the brutal massacre which immediately followed in the state of Kansas. It is well know that when the notorious Quantrell, at the head of his band of desperadoes, entered the city of Lawrence, dealing death to the surprised and affrighted inhabitants, the appeal of his victims for quarter was answered by the fearfeul cry, 'Remember the murdered women of Kansas City,."

He tells of the murderous career of one of these men who "from that time forward devoted his life to vengeance." "Like the rider of the 'pale horse' in the Book of Revelation', 'death and hell, literally 'followed in his train.' Such was the terrible cost," he adds, "to Union men and Union soldiers" of the policy of the man whom democrats were now seeking as their leader, "a policy which mercilessly expel from their homes and rightful possessions the aged and infirm, rather than risk his precious person in a conflict with the few guerrillas who preyed upon them."

There were, indeed, those who had at the time maintained that Ewing would more surely have won for himself the renown of a true soldier had he confined his activities to the unremitting pursuit of the guerrillas, instead of depopulating and devastating the border. His adherents claim this was impossible, in view of the fact that the pursuit lay through a region filled with friends of Quantrell, bent upon shielding him and concealing his movements.

General Schofield, at the time of Ewing's candidacy for the governorship, wrote him an open letter, justifying his course. Bingham replied through the press, disputing Schofield's conclusions at every point. General Schofiled makes the statement that the "majority of the people had already been driven from their homes or had voluntarily left them. None remained beyond the protection of the military posts except such as were, voluntarily or not, useful to the guerrillas. Those who remained were simply purveyors for these border warriors."

Bingham denies this. The country, he says, was inhabited by a well-to-do community, a people who had willingly furnished to the Union cause much more than the bushwhackers and jayhawkers had been able to extort from them, a people of indisputable loyalty, who, in the convention of '61 had cast not a single vote for a secession candidate, who had furnished, at every call for troops, their full quota by volunteers "without the compulsion of a draft."

In reply to General Schofield's statements that the order was humane in intention and humanely carried out, "bringing a disgraceful conflict to a summary close," Bingham says: "It did, indeed, put an end to the predatory raids of Kansas redlegs and jayhawkers, by surrendering to them all that they coveted, leaving nothing that could further excite their cupidity, but it gave up the country to the bushwhackers, who, until the close of the war continued to stop the stages and rob the mails and passengers; and no one wearing the federal uniform dared to risk his life within the desolated districts."

"I was present in Kansas City," he adds, "when the order was being enforced........and can affirm from personal observation, that the sufferings of its unfortunate victims, in many instances, were such as should have elicited sympathy from hearts of stone........It is well known that men were shot down in the very act of obeying the order, and their wagons and effects seized by their murderers."

General Schofield, in the letter under discussion, says further to Ewing: "To call your order an act of inhumanity or of retaliation upon the people of Missouri is like accusing the Russian commander of similar crimes against the people of Moscow when he ordered the destruction of that city to prevent its occupation as winter quarters by the army of Napoleon."

Bingham replies: "Napoleon was entering Moscow with a victorious and overwhelming force in the midst of a Russian winter, during which his only reliance for subsistence would have been upon the supplies stored within the limits of the city. The destruction of these, therefore, was the salvation of the Russian Empire. In the case of the measure he undertakes to defend, the overwhelming force was with General Ewing, whose duty it was to protect the people and expel the bushwhackers who infested their country."

With General Ewing's extra-Missouri career we are not concerned. Be it said, however, that this bit of Missouri history, as illustrated by Bingham, defeated, whether justly or unjustly, his gubernatorial ambitions.

Bingham further illustrated Missouri, in a vastly different vein by his painting called, "Listening to the Wilmot Proviso." It is conceived and executed in a smiling humor; and there is a quaint and pleasing delineation of the group of typical village politicians gathered to listen while one of their number reads to them. Bingham loved to paint these groups of Missourians of his time. His types are faithful and well-selected. But we have no space to pause over the existing conditions in Missouri which gave rise to the absorbing interest that the Wilmot Proviso held for these listeners.

MAY SIMONDS.

NOTE—Mr. R. B. Price, of Columbia, tells me that he saw Mr. Bingham daily while at work making the painting of "Order No. 11," and that being unable to get a canvas such as was wanted, he first painted the picture on a wooden panel. It was soon found that the panel was cracking, and Mr. Bingham got a linen table cloth and himself prepared it, and painted on it the picture that became famous, and had a far reaching effect as described in the above paper.—Editor.

THE PIKE COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT. *

A minute history of the Circuit Court of Pike county from the organization of the state government ought to be a matter of some interest to every intelligent citizen. The county was organized under an act of the Territorial Legislature passed in the month of December, 1819. The first Circuit Court was held in the town of Louisiana in the month of April, 1820. This was a little less than two years after the town itself was located and surveyed. The Court was held by the Hon. David Todd, of Columbia, and its business consisted almost exclusively of matters that pertained to the organization of the county. The laying out of road districts and the appointment of road overseers were important items of the business transacted by the Court. This was nearly twelve months previous to the admission of the state of Missouri into the Union, and of course the business was limited. The Court was held in the house of Obediah Dickinson located on the east side of Main street on the second lot south of the corner of Georgia street. The house becomes a matter of some interest in following up the historical events of the County. This house of Dickinson's was built of hewed logs and stood upon lot 18 in Block 4 fronting sixty feet on Main street and running back (eastwardly) 120 feet.

All the public business of the county continued to be transacted in this house until a small brick court house was built on Third street on lot 174, Block 24. Just when this was erected and by whom I now have no means of determining. The house was a small brick structure two stories high. The entire block of lots of which this ground was a part was set aside by the original proprietors of the town upon which

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* Read before the Pike County Historical Society.

public buildings of the county were to be erected. In this house all the courts of the county were held until January, 1825, when the county seat was removed to Bowling Green, There it has remained for a period of eighty-one years. Upon the admission o fthe state into the Union in August, 1821, the then Governor Alexander McNair appointed Rufus Pettibone Judge of the Circuit Court, and his brother, Levi Pettibone, clerk. Rufus had removed to the Territory from the state of New York in 1819 and located in the City of St. Louis, where he was residing at the time of his appointment. Levi had been in the Territory some two years or more, and he also was living in St. Louis when he received his commission. These were both men of sterling worth, and more than ordinary intelligence. Levi came West in 1807 with Schoolcraft and accompanied him in several expeditions through the western wilderness in search of mineral. He finally settled down in St. Louis, and was making that his home when his brother came on in search of him. They were natives of the state of Connecticut, but the Judge had been for some years before coming west a citizen of the state of New York, where he was for one or two terms a member of the State Legislature, and he had attained considerable reputation also as a practitioner of law. He settled his family in the town of St. Charles as soon as he was appointed Judge. In 1823 he was appointed one of the Justices of the State Supreme Court, and afterwards designated with Henry S. Geyer as a commissioner to prepare a Digest of the laws of the state. This work, however, he did not live to perform. He died in the city of St. Charles sometime during the year 1825.

Judge Pettibone was a ripe scholar and well educated in the law. Some three or more years after his death Ezra Hunt, then a practicing lawyer in this circuit, married Marie Pettibone, the oldest daughter of Judge Pettibone, and he was always enthusiastic in speaking to me about the learning and high order of talents of Judge Pettibone. He was succeeded on the circuit bench by Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, a native of eastern Virginia and a half brother to the celebrated John Randolph, of Roanoke. Tucker's father was an aristocratic Englishman who was appointed governor of the Island of Bermuda. He only remained there for a few years, and then removed with his family to eastern Virginia. Being a widower with only two children, Henry St. George and Beverly, he married the widow Randolph. She had a large area of fertile James river bottom lands, and slaves almost without number. Tucker was an aristocrat both by birth and education. He was really a well educated lawyer and a man of decided ability, but he was never popular in his circuit and encountered a great many difficulties in performing the duties of his office. He continued to act as Judge of the circuit until 1830, when from some unexplained reason he tendered his resignation to the Governor. He became an avowed aspirant for a seat in Congress from this state but utterly failed to get any endorsement from the party to which he belonged, and finally dropped out of public view almost entirely.

In 1833 he left the state and returned to his old home in Virginia. Some short time after this he was appointed Professor of Law at the old College of William and Mary, located at Williamsburg, Virginia. This position he held until the close of his life, which occurred some time between 1850 and 1860, perhaps about 1856. He was a very ardent admirer of the distinguished statesman of South Carolina, John C. Calhoun, and thoroughly imbued with all his views of political policy and principle. He sympathized fully with Mr. Calhoun in all his struggles and difficulties in the days of nullification, and as the result of all his mental struggles and labors during that exciting period in the political history of the country he wrote a book which he called "The Partizan Leader—A Tale of the Future." The publication of this book was commenced in 1836 by Gales and Seaton, Publishers and Proprietors at that time of the National Intelligencer. It was, however, suppressed as it was said by the order of General Jackson. At some period of time between 1850 and 1860 this book was published in full and became a text-book of the South in promoting the ends of secession and rebellion. (1). A few years ago I procured a copy of this book and deposited it in the Louisiana Public Library.

The successor of Judge Tucker was Hon. Preistly H. McBride. He was a Kentuckian by birth, and came to the state but a short time before his appointment as judge. After coming to the state his home for a time was at Jefferson City, where he was employed as a clerk in the office of the Secretary of State. He was a licensed lawyer, but never practiced his profession in this state. After his appointment to the office of Judge, he came to Pike county and located on a farm some three or four miles west of Bowling Green, and immediately on the road leading from that town to Mexico, the county seat of Audrain county. Here he continued to reside until he finally moved out of the circuit. This was then the old Third Judicial Circuit of Missouri, and was composed of the counties of Ralls, Pike, Montgomery, Lincoln, Warren and St. Charles.

At the general election of 1834 an amendment to the State Constitution was submitted to the voters of the state providing that the offices of all the judges of the state should become vacant on the first day of January, 1836. This was ratified by the vote of the people by a large majority. There does not seem to have been any real cause for such an amendment except to have a new deal, and a new distribution of the various judgships in the state. The Governor still retained the power of appointing the judges, and all were still to be appointed for life or during good behavior. It is true there had been some changes in a few of the circuits in the state, but none in the old Third Circuit. It remained just as it was. Hon. Ezra Hunt was appointed judge of the Third Circuit and Judge McBride was re-appointed judge, but assigned to the Circuit immediately north of Pike county and extending to the northern boundary of the state. McBride was very much incensed at the whole proceeding. He was very domestic in his nature, exceedingly fond of his country home, and the business of farming and raising stock, and he could not be reconciled to the idea of giving up his farm and moving to a new location. He conceived the idea that he had a constitutional right to hold on to his old place under his commission of 1830. His appointment at that time was for life or during good behavior, and he did not believe that he could be ousted by any such trick as had been attempted to be played upon him. He promptly notified the public that he would remain on his farm in Pike county and continue to discharge the duties of judge of the old Third Judicial Circuit. Judge Hunt immediately took steps to oust him by the judicial writ of quo warranto issued by the Supreme Court of the state. The case was heard and decided by that Court in the early spring of 1836, Judge Hunt being represented by A. B. Chambers who was then a resident of Bowling Green and circuit attorney for the Third Judicial Circuit of Missouri. Being ousted by the decision of the Supreme Court, Judge McBride at once disposed of his farm and removed to the county of Monroe, which was included in the Circuit to which he had been assigned. He left this Circuit in high dudgeon, and especially so with Judge Hunt. After I commenced practicing law in 1845, I saw Judge McBride in Bowling Green during a term of the Circuit Court, but my impression is that he was there on a business errand of some kind; he did not speak to Judge Hunt or go into the court house during his stay in the town. During that year he was appointed one of the Justices of the State Supreme Court to fill the vacancy (as I now remember) on that bench occasioned by the death of Judge Tomkins. Judge McBride held his place on the

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(1) This book was really printed in Washington in 1836, but carrying out the idea of "a tale of the future" it bore upon the tilte page the date 1851. Because it advocated secession the author and publisher were afraid of prosecution, and did not give their names, the book being secretly printed. The name of the author was given as Edward William Sidney, and "printed for the publishers by James Caxton," Duff Green being the real printer. The date given was only a few years from the reality. The book was written while Judge Tucker lived on his farm in Florissant, St. Louis county, where he used the stump of a hollow tree for his study, and in which he wrote this book, and also another named "George Balcombe," which has been highly praised by Poe and Simms.

The original edition and the reprint made in Richmond in 1862 are both rare; the New York reprint of 1861 can be obtained more easily. F. A. SAMPSON.

Supreme bench until he was ousted by a constitutional amendment adopted by a vote of the people at the August election of 1848. At the end of his term of service on the Supreme bench he retired to his farm, and never again became a candidate for any office. Very soon after his retirement to private life he removed from Monroe to the county of Boone and settled in what is known as Two-Mile Prairie a short distance east of Columbia. Here he died in the early fifties. Judge McBride could not be classed as an eminent lawyer by any means. He was a man, however, of good practical common sense, a good farmer, thoroughly domestic in all his tastes and habits, and attached to the business of farming and stock raising. Some one of the early lawyers said to me that Judge McBride would, at any time, ride ten miles out of his way in going around the circuit, to look at a fine horse.

Immediately after the decision of the Supreme Court, Judge Hunt assumed the duties of judge of the Third Circuit and held that position until the winter of 1849, when he was ousted by a constitutional amendment adopted by a vote of the people of the state at the August election of 1848. It was a cruel blow to one of the most honest, deserving men that ever lived in the county. This constitutional amendment inaugurated a new era in the judicial history of the state. It was provided that the judicial term of office of the Circuit Judges should be limited to six years, to be filled by an election by the qualified voters of the state on the first Monday in August, 1851. On the first day of January, 1849, by the terms of this constitutional amendment the offices of all the circuit judges in the state became vacant, and the vacancies were filled by the appointment of the Governor until the first day of January, 1852, the first election of Judges being required to be held on the first Monday in August, 1851, under such terms and regulations as the Legislature should provide. During the last year of Judge Hunt's service the county of Marion had been added to the Circuit. The Hon. Carty Wells, formerly a resident of Palmyra, in Marion county, was appointed to fill the office until the election of 1851. No event in the political history of the county gave me more pain than the condition of Judge Hunt. He had almost reached the period when his age would have been a limit to his service as a judge. He had not accumulated a dollar in all his practice at the bar or from his meager salary during the thirteen years of hard service on the bench, and he found himself in almost a destitute condition. However he never uttered a word of complaint, but resumed the practice of law with all the energy and ardor of a new beginner. He literally died at his post. At a noon recess of the Lincoln Circuit and immediately after he had eaten a hearty dinner he fell into a gentle sleep from which he never awoke. He was a well educated lawyer, and as honest and pure minded a man as ever lived.

The Bench and Bar of Pike county have received their full share of official honors. Three of its Circuit Judges have been elevated to the Supreme Bench of the state. One of its lawyers has served a term in the Senate of th United States, and six have occupied seats in the Lower House of Congress. This record will compare favorably with that of any other county in the state.

THOMAS J. C. FAGG.

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE TROUBLES ON THE BORDER, 1858.

An investigation of the Archives at Jefferson City under the auspices of the Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, brought to light, among many others, the documents here produced. The present condition of the Archives leaves much to be desired. Owing to lack of space, of filing cabinets, and of ordinary care, there has been for years a constant overflow of documents from the offices of the executive departments into the basement of the capitol building. Here the papers were piled up in rooms, hallways and out of the way corners, often loose on the floor or in open packing cases. Until the present administration took control, there was practically no effort made to arrange, classify or even insure the preservation of these papers. Mr. Swanger, the present Secretary of State, has made a determined effort to better conditions in his Department, and has placed perhaps the majority of these records beyond any immediate danger of destruction and so far arranged several important series that they are no longer entirely inaccessible. The records of the Land Department, the most complete series still preserved, are still in a most unsatisfactory condition, as are the less extensive collections of the Auditor and Treasurer. But it is unfair to expect the Departments now to bear the entire burden of the results of the neglect of the last fifty years. There is an imperative need of an Historical Commission, similar to those already organized in Mississippi, Alabama, Iowa, and other states, to classify and systematize the Archives as a whole, and it is earnestly to be desired that such a department may be created by the next General Assembly.

The following documents, now printed for the first time, throw considerable light on the conditions along the Border at the time of the Marias-des-Cygnes massacre and the outbreak of the "Border Warfare." It is greatly to be regretted that General Parsons was, apparently, unsuccessful in his attempt to secure a statement from Hamilton, the leader in that affair. The report of Snyder is especially valuable from the sources of his information and the sanity and fairness of his conclusions.

The originals of these documents are now in the office of the Secretary of State, in a bundle labeled "Military Papers; Southwest Expedition."

JONAS VILES.

I.—S. G. ALLEN TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Harrisonville May 30th 58.

Gov- R. M. Stewart

Respected Sir on my arrival at home I found affairs in a still more threatning attitude than when I left our people were anxiously waiting to learn the success of my Mission—and you may be assured that it afforded me the utmost pleasure to assure the People here that you would readily and Speedily afford them all the aid concistant with the high and important Station you fill during my absence a company has been formed here another S. W in this (Cass) and one in Bates and all look to you State arms Pledgeing themselves to act only in Self defense within your Jurisdiction I arrived at home about an hour before Sun down and found the company in Town meeting to drill I briefly reported success and fell into ranks unless —new depredations have been committed new threats have been made and vigourous preparations are going on just over the line—what is to be the end God only knows—I hope Sir that you will allow no delay in affording what protection is in the compass of your power—you please accept my greatful acknowledgements for your kindness showed me while in your city * * * * * * I am pleased to inform you that in forming companies none are allowed to join but bonafide citizens of Mo—in haste I am your obedient Survt

S. G. ALLEN.

[Endorsed]
S. G. Allen's
letter May-30 '58
concerning invasion
of border.

II.—GOVERNOR STEWART TO ADJUTANT GENERAL PARSONS. (1).

G. A. Parsons Esqr
Adjutant General of Mo

Sir—It having been represented to me by worthy and reliable citizens of the Counties of Cass and Bates, in this State, a marauding party of armed men from the adjoining Territory of Kansas, have recently invaded this state, and committed sundry outrages on our citizens—that they threaten to return, and burn and lay waste their property—and that our ctizens in the border counties have good cause to fear for the safety of their lives and property, rendering it my duty as the Executive of the State to take some steps calculated to secure their safety and the safety of their property; and preserve the public peace and see that laws are faithfully executed;

I therefore direct that you proceed in your quality of Adjutant General of the State to the scene of the difficulty in the Western portion of this State and make such investigation as you may deem necessary with regard to the causes of difficulty and the probability of their recurrence; and also as to what steps may be necessary to provide our citizens with adequate protection from further depredations. Should it become necessary to act immediately in order to secure the safety of our citizens, you are hereby authorized to enroll a sufficient volunteer force to accomplish that purpose.

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(1) This is the original draft, in Governor Stewart's own hand, with many corrections. The warning against aggressive action was repeated more emphatically and explicitly in a letter, same to same, June 10, 1858.

You are also authorized, if in your opinion it be necessary, after an investigation of the facts, to provide for the immediate organization of Military companies in the counties most convenient to the scene of difficulty, with a view to their being called into the service of the State should the necessity arise.

You will be particular to direct that none of the forces which may thus be called into the service of the State, cross the line into Kansas, or do ought else that may be of an agressive character.

R. M. STEWART
Commander, in chief

[Endorsed]
Instructions to
Adj Gen. Parsons
May 31, 1858.

III.—STATEMENT OF CITIZENS OF BATES COUNTY, MO.

At a meeting of a portion of the citizens of Bates county, Mo, at the Town of West Point June 5th 1858 it was determined that Joseph Clymer be requested to make out a detailed account of the invasion of Missouri and other outrages committed upon her citizens by the outlaws of Kansas Territory, and that the same be submitted to the Governor of our State or other officer acting under his authority; and in furtherance of the above request I now proceed to condense the facts. So far as I have been able to glean them from reliable sources, stating nothing but what I know to be **facts** and what I have from men of honor and reputation—I will pass over those stirring events that took place in Linn County K. T.—upon our immediate border—that drove out from that county all proslavery men and such honest free state men as would not **swear** to support the extreme ultra views of the extreme Black Republicans of Kansas,—and merely notice what occurred in the sthate of Missouri in this vicinity:

About the first of May, our border Towns and settlements were crowded with persons, from Kansas, who had in many instances been robbed of their property, and driven from the Territory and that too, under the **threat** of the **penalty** of death, in case they did not leave or in case they should ever return; after many enquiries and frequent conversations with men altogether reliable, we ascertained that one James Montgomery, of Sugar Mound headed the company that was thus driving out good and peaceable citizens and then robbing their houses of every thing valuable, stealing their horses etc. We also learned that said outlaws never **marked** or **spotted** a man but what they drove him off they never threatened an individual, town or neighborhood but they executed it; if they went to rob or drive from his home they took five or ten men, if neighborhood they took 20, if a town 75 or 100, they always had men **enough for the emergency**, under this state of affairs the honest (free state) men of the territory, together with those who had been driven out, sought shelter in Missouri, and Missourians whilst they afforded them all the accomodations in their power abstained from all interference whatever in the affair, but still there were messages received every day telling us that so soon as Montgomery and his men drove out all men from the Territory whom they did not like they would attack Missouri—The towns of Butler and West Point were mentioned as the first victims, whilst we were disposed to believe it, from the number of small companies of spies that were seen prowling about our border, we did not regard it farther to guard our Towns and the citizens of the border guarded their property, but still they sent their threats until about the 14th of May a company of Montgomery's men crossed the line in this county and took two horses from the Rev. George W. Geyer and a saddle from Dr. A. P. Brown, and I have heard of other like deeds were committed until the 20th of May, when they sent us word that they would attack West Point that evening, and we have the most reliable information that there were about four hundred in two and a half miles of the line. About 4 o'clock P. M. of that day Col Mooney rode out of the town some half mile when he saw a large body, in the State, marching up towards West Point, they fired upon with their Sharps Rifles, he ran back to town, they marched up something near half mile from Town and after a halt they from 75 to 100 and there were many others (near Town who did not come in town) come charging in town at the top of their speed, marched through the town in military style, used all manner of defiance to the town and individuals and in our opinion were, only restrained, doubtless, from plundering and destroying the town from the fear of our citizens (some 30 in number) who were stationed in homes as a shelter, in case a fight should ensue. After making enquiry for certain individuals, and drinking and eating what they wanted they marched out of Town in the same defiant manner in which they marched in, on leaving they went South inside the State and about two miles from West Point they went to the house of Mr Jack: Clark, in the State, robbed him of his money took every thing valuable about his house, even his and his wife's wearing apparel and then destroyed his entire furniture They met him and his wife in the road returning from a visited and there stopped and searched them taking everything valuable that they had about there persons by this time all our citizens near the border took fright, not being in a condition to defend themselves and have left their homes in fact such is the alarm produced that some of our oldest best neighborhoods have become nearly or entirely depopulated, their farms, their stock and in many instances their household furniture and clothing have been left at the mercy of these outlaws, those who from necessity have ventured back to their homes, have found their farms thrown open etc and have seen spies placed around them watching their movements etc. On or about the 21st or 22nd of May some 20 or 25 crossed into this county, south of the Marias-des-Cygnes and chased some of our citizens several miles and doubtless would have gottem but for the timber, in which they sought shelter—about the 6th of May Dr. Rockwell, a citizen of our place while attending professional calls just over the line in the Territory, was attacked by eight armed men robbed of some 300$, his horse taken from his buggy and taken from him, his pistols etc, taken and watch; it is proper to state here that they decoyed Dr. R. out into the Territory shot at him, and stood with two guns cocked over his head whilst he was robbed; and since all these occurrences mentioned above a large number (182) of armed men have been seen prowling about in our State near West Point, and in fact bodies of armed from the Territory have been seen at different times and places in our State, almost every day we here of them sending in word by some of their men that they intend to come over into Missouri, destroy West Point, Butler, Papinsville &c. There are a number of other outrages not mentioned in the above but may be included in after statement whether they will attack us we know not, they have threatened us, they have invaded our State, they have marched into one of our Towns and insulted its citizens. They robbed, plundered destroyed the property and insulted peaceable and unoffending citizens. They have chased and shot at men who were tending to their own business, they have driven a large number of our citizens from their homes, stolen their property and in fact have ruined many of them, (they are still at these things) they have disregarded the dignity of our State, trampled under foot all the respect that is due from one sovereign State to another, They have **forced** us to stand guard day and night, to go armed about our daily avocations and all of this we have been compelled to submit to all this from our defenceless condition and we now appeal and we think have a right to appeal to our State Government for protection ask it, and we hope it will not be refused us.

Respectfully,
Yours &c
JOS. CLYMER.

Gen. G. A. Parsons
Adj General

We the undersigned citizens of Bates County Missouri, being familiar with the facts endorse the above statement of Hon. Jos Clymer as being substantially true
June 5th 1858.

THOS. H. STARNES
T. W. B. ROCKWELL
NATHAN SEARS.
I. A. PIGG
J. S. PIGG
JAMES A. MARSHALL

T. R. SIMPSON
A. H. SPENCER
VINCENT JOHNSON
JAMES McHENRY
ALEXANDER FEELEY

[Endorsed]
Statement of
citizens of Bates Co.
concerning Border
troubles.
June 1858.

IV.—ADJUTANT GENERAL PARSONS TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Harrisonville
10 Oclock P. M. June 4th 1858

His Excellency
R. M. Stewart Comdr. in Chief Mo. M.
Dear Sir

I wrote you hurriedly yesterday, (1) I again write to you this night giving you the information I have just secured from a gentleman of unquestioned veracity living in this county: the subject came up this way, I told him I would like to see Hamilton while I was here and get from under his hand and also from the best men that were with him in his troubles in K. T. (for there is where they resided before they were driven out) a full and complete statement of the conduct of Montgomery and his followers toward the Pro Slavery party in the T. and on the border within our States, as a paper to be filed in your office. It is said here that Hamilton (2) is very much of a gentlemen a native of Georgia. I have enquired of several here where Hamilton is at this time none could tell, some thought he was in Independence, some in one place and some in another. The gentleman above alluded to gave me to understand that he believed he was not far from this place, yet, he did not know but believed he could find out tomorrow and it could be arranged so that, I could have an interview with him in the course of the day The gentleman in the course of our conversation expressed it as his opinion that there would be in the course of a week from this time, from 100 to 200 men who would go into the T. and take revenge of Montgomery and his followers for robbing them of their property and driving them from their homes, **mark you** these are K. T. men seeking revenge, **not Missourians.** Yet they are at this time within the borders of this State.

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(1) The letter referred to dealt with the organization of a local militia company.

(2) The leader in the Marias-des-Cynges massacre.

Just at night 75 of the K. T. men who had been driven out some time since come into this place well armed. From the manner in which the gentleman talked with me (it is not his words I judged from, but the manner and expression of his countenance) I was satisfied that he had a good idea of what was going on among them.

A company of volunteers has been raised today Col Blakey will be here tomorrow and organize them I think you may have no fear that this company will attempt to cross the line in K. T. but will if necessary to enter the field at all act entirely on the defensive.

But should Hamilton with his recruits (all of whom are K. T. men) return to the Territory and make war upon Montgomery and men, some of the presses of our State will charge it at once upon those companies now being organized in this county and Bates and will attempt to make it appear that such was your intention when you sent me up here: I therefore inform you of the information I have received in advance of anything that may occur between those belligerents in order that you may be able to place yourself right before the people if such event should occur.

I hope sir, you will not make this public unless it should be necessary upon the happening of the contingencies above stated as the gentleman from whom I gathered the information is very desirous that it should be entirely confidential and it is not right that it should be made public for the reason that persons in this section are at this time in danger of being injured in person or property if they are suspected of taking a part between those parties, and for another reason I wish it kept in a confidential manner. That is he told me these things looked upon me as a gentleman from the position, if nothing else that I occupy here.

There is to be a meeting at West Point in Bates Co. in Monday next. The Montgomery party will be there, the object of the meeting (is said to be) for the purpose of making a treaty, between those outlaws of K. T. and the Citizens along the border, The proposition for this meeting I understand came from the Montgomery party It is thought by some that a difficulty will take place among them at this meeting.

It is said by those are leaving the Territory now that the abolitionist there are greatly alarmed and many of them are getting out on account of a report having been circulated among them, that there was at this time a man by the name Jackson (an old settler on the border having resided there for 18 years in 2 1-2 miles of the line, but lately having been robbed of property and ordered off, (although in Missouri) left and came to this place with his family) busily engaged in raising volunteers for the purpose of marching into K. T. and that he already had 200 men.. This report however is untrue, for Jackson is here and been here ever since I arrived and have had frequent conversation with him

June 5 1858
Harrisonville 7 Oclock A M

The report is here this morning that those devils from K. T. had made a descent on Butler the county seat of Bates and plundered the town. This report is not believed here; and therefore I think it well it drop just where it is unless found to be true, for there are facts enough well authenticated here if all of them were generally known to create the most intense excitement in the minds of every honest man. Many things that we in Jefferson would consider of a grave and serious character that are hardly noticed here, these depredation having been going on to a greater or lesser degree for 4 years until the citizens have become accustomed to them, and consequently they are not so easily excited as at first. I have endeavored since I have been here to keep down excitement as far as my mission is concerned, although when hearing of some of the acts of those devils I have felt almost like I would be proud to see every devil of them butchered. I shall be in Butler tomorrow.

Yours respectfully
G. A. PARSONS
Adjt Gen

[Endorsed]
G. A. Parsons.

V.—REPORT OF ADJUTANT GENERAL PARSONS TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Adjutant General Office
Jefferson City
June 16th 1858

R. M. Stewart
Commander in Chief of the Mo Mi.
Sir

In pursuance of your orders to the undersigned directed and delivered dated May the 28th 1858, we proceeded to Harrisonville in Cass County Missouri, and on the 5th day of June a company of volunteers were organized at said place called the "Cass County Guards" on the 6th instant we proceeded to Butler in Bates County Missouri, and on the 7th instant four volunteers companies were raised, neither of which were organized: the Division Inspector for the 6th District not being in attendance I (G. A. Parsons adgt Genl) Sent an express for him, with the request that he attend and proceed to organize said companies; and go from thence to Vernon County and organize any company or companies that the people there may think proper to raise. On tuesday the 8th instant we left Butler for Austin in Cass County; at this place Col Blakey Division Inspector for the 5th District organized a volunteer company there called the "Austin Blews." From thence Col Blakey proceeded to "Pleasant Hill" and on the 10th instant organized a volunteer company there, called the "Pleasant Hill Rangers" we then returned to Head Quarters at Jefferson City.

While traversing the counties on the border of our State, we made diligent enquiry of reliable men (citizens there) as to the condition of things on the border, they related them as being deplorable indeed; they say a large strip of country within our state is almost entirely depopulated, our citizens driven from their homes and in many instances property taken, and they threatened with death should they return. Many of those men we saw in and about Butler and Harrisonville who had been forced to leave their homes and take refuge in the interior of those counties.

Many acts of violence and plunder we heard of there, that were committed by this Kansas Territory Banditti, but we deem it unnecessary to enter into a detailed account of all we have seen and heard, while on the border of our State.

(The statement furnished us by reliable citizens and filed with you, we ask to be taken as part of this report.)

We are of opinion that the companies raised there will not be sufficient protection to the border Settlements on account of their being settled over so large a Territory and cannot be gotten together in time to repel an invasion or to prevent any depredations intended to be committed by those out Laws.

The Statement furnished us by reliable citizens residents of Cass and Bates Counties, and with you filed a few days ago we ask to be considered as a part of this report.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

G. A. PARSONS,
Adgt Genl. Mo Mi
A. G. BLAKEY,
Division Inspector
5th Military District
Mo. Militia.

[Endorsed]
Ad Gen. Parson's report
of Border War.

NOTE—The paragraph on this page, reading: "The statement furnished us by reliable citizens and filed with you, we ask to be taken as part of this report," has been marked out in original paper.

VI.—J. F. SNYDER TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Headquarters 6th Division
Missouri Militia:
Pappinville, Bates Co, Mo.
Aug. 7, 1858.

R. M. Stewart,
Gov. of Missouri;
Sir:

In obedience to your orders I came to this County Several days ago to investigate the true condition of affairs upon the border, and after much diligent enquiry I have the honor to make the following report and suggestions.

My information is collected from the clerk of the Court, the Justices of the County Court, the Justices of the Peace, the Sheriff, the Representative elect, and many of the principal citizens of the County not in official positions.

The unhappy difficulties in Kansas Territory have caused many of the citizens of that territory to seek safety in this state. Some of these refugees, (if I may use the term), actuated by a spirit of retaliation or revenge have gone back into the Territory and committed depredations, and, in turn, they have been pursued by citizens of that territory into this State This has been the first source of all difficulties here.

Many unprincipled persons too, who have sustained no loss in the territory, have perhaps availed themselves of the excited state of feeling, and gone over there and committed murder or felony, and then returned here for safety.

Citizens here have perhaps too, innocently harbored thieves and been the recipients (unknowingly) of Stolen property.

This state of affairs has very naturally excited the public mind, and the total inadequacy of the civil authorities to suppress these wrongs and ferret out the guilty has seriously threatened the Supremacy of the law, and I find the County now almost on the eve of civil war. Several citizens have intimated to me that they did not consider either their property or their lives safe here at any time.

The late horrid murder which was perpetrated near this place a month ago has added much to the excited state of feeling, and the facts developed by it have done much to embitter one class of the citizens against the other.

To this affair I wish briefly to call your attention. It seems that all parties concerned in it were citizens of Kansas, residing a short distance over the line. The five persons who were principal and accessory to the murder (viz. Morrow, Bean, Turk, and two others) are reported to have been driven out of the territory some time last Spring. They came to this county and took refuge with one W. B. Young, living seven miles north of this place. A short time since Pope and Harris came from the territory hunting for stolen horses. They went to Young's and there were arrested, without authority, by those five persons, who brought them to this place, took their money from them, and started back to Young's with them about dark. Two miles from town they left the road and ordered the prisoners to dismount, and then fired at them, killing Pope immediately: Harris escaped. (I send you a copy of his affidavit.) (1) **Pope's horses were found in Young's orchard.**

I would respectfully suggest to you the necessity of offering a liberal reward for the apprehension of these five persons.

Strong threats are made by one class of the citizens here to take the law into their own hands and rid themselves of those disreputable characters, whilst on the other hand it is said that the Kansas refugees and their friends openly defy the law, or those who would enforce it.

All parties here call loudly on you for protection. The present militia law, I find, is entirely inadequate to the exigencies of the case; and I would therefore make the following suggestions:

I am thoroughly satisfied that military force is absolutely necessary to enforce the laws and restore peace to this locality, but I am also convinced that it would be highly imprudent to call out the militia of this county, I would therefore respectfully advise you to order out one of the St. Louis independent companies, or give me power to call out a company from my county or the adjoining counties, to equip them immediately and place them here on active service as Rangers.

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(1) This letter gives an accurate summary of the affidavit.

This plan I suggest after mature deliberation, and consultation with the Sheriff and others: all agree that this plan alone will insure protection to all parties.

The organization of independent companies here under the present law is almost impossible; and if it were possible such companies would be entirely useless.

The Governor of Kansas has placed upon our frontier a company of Rangers on active service. A similar company within our state acting in concert with that would speedily suppress all depredations and would be efficient in arresting all malefactors on either side.

The militia of this county would be too much influenced by self interest, prejudice, or revenge to act impartially. Consequently whatever force is brought into the field must be brought from some other locality.

I consider it no longer a question of expediency or necessity—the case is urgent and demands some active steps to be immediately taken to suppress insurrection and repel invasion.

I shall return to my home, Bolivar, Polk Co, tomorrow and there await further orders.

With respect, &c,
Your ob'dient servant,
J. F. SNYDER
Division Inspector 6th Military
district Missouri militia.

[Endorsed]
Snyder.

VII.—GOVERNOR STEWART TO GOVERNOR DENVER.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
City of Jefferson Augt 7, 1858.

His Excellency
J. W. Denver,
Governor of the Territory of Kansas.

Dear Sir: According to reliable information repeatedly received within the last few weeks, the citizens of Missouri along the border, in Cass and Bates Counties, are constantly liable to depredations by marauding parties from Kansas Territory, by which both their lives and property are endangered. In consequence of this unfortunate state of affairs, it will probably be necessary for me to station an armed force along the border, for the purpose of protecting our citizens from lawless depradations; and in my endeavors to preserve the peace I hope to have your hearty and earnest co-operation, in order that said efforts may be attended with entire success, and as a means of preventing any collission between the citizens of Kansas and those of Missouri who may be stationed there as conservators of the peace.

It is greatly to be regretted that any cause should exist for a resort to such means of preserving order, and I believe that no one regrets its necessity more than yourself; and I feel assured that you will do all in your power to put an end to the evil complained of, and also to prevent any occurrence calculated to mar the cordial feeling generally existing between the citizens of Missouri and Kansas.

The fearful consequences liable to result to the nation from any conflict of arms between citizens of the State of Missouri, and those of the Territory of Kansas,, even though resulting from an effort to maintain the law and to shield the innocent from harm, cannot now be estimated, owing to the fact, that exaggerated reports of any such occurrence are very certain to be circulated, and the minds of the people to thereby become unduly excited. I know, sir, that you can fully appreciate these dangers, and therefore confidently expect that you will use every possible means tending to ward them off.

With assurrances of esteem I am, sir.

Very truly yours,
R. M. STEWART,
Gov. of the State of Mo.

[Endorsed]
Copy of a Letter to J. W. Denver,
Gov. of Kansas.

VIII.—GOVERNOR DENVER TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Executive Office.
Lecompton, K. T. Aug. 18th 1858.

To His Excellency,
R. M. Stewart,
Governor of the State of Missouri.
My Dear Sir.

Your communication of the 7th inst. was rereceived last night. I regret exceedingly that you should deem it necessary to station an armed force along the borders, and must express the hope that upon a thorough investigation you will be induced to change your purpose. The late unsettled state of affairs on the South Eastern part of this Territory has caused me great solicitude and induced me to send detachments of U. S. Troops to the scenes of trouble and also to call out a small company of volunteers.

Peace has been fully restored and the supremacy of the civil authorities established in the troubled districts. The U. S. troops have been withdrawn, but the contiguity of the States of Missouri and Arkansas to the Territory of Kansas affords so many facilities for persons committing offences against the laws of one to escape to the others and thus escape punishment, that I have deemed it proper to retain the Volunteer force under command of Captain A. I. Weaver for a short time longer. Nothing but the past condition of affairs in that Section of country, would in my opinion justify this course, for the civil authorities ought to be required to preserve the

peace. I am satisfied that the only marauders now in this Territory are organized bands of horse thieves, such as are too common in all new countries especially where they can so easily elude the officers of one State or Territory by passing the boundary line into another, and whose depredations are by no means confined to either. These offenders can always keep beyond the reach of any military force, and they can be exterminated only by the active and energetic exertions of the people should be taught to rely on themselves for protection
people should be taught to rely on themselves for protection
against such offenders and in the maintainance of the laws.

To this end I have earnestly labored and I trust not without some good results. I have also endeavored to impress on the citizens of the Territory the necessity and importance of cultivating friendly relations with their neighbors of Missouri, and I have every reason to believe there is a very general disposition to do so.

The officers and people of this Territory generally along the borders of Missouri, will, I am quite sure, cooperate most heartily with the authorities on your side of the line in bringing offenders to justice, and I therefore indulge the hope that the civil authorities will be found sufficient to protect the people in their persons and property without the aid of the military in future.

Herewith I send you extracts from my instructions to Capt Weaver. The Captain is now here and reports every thing quiet in the South.

Hoping that it may continue so, and that every semblance of Military power may soon be withdrawn from civil affairs, I have the honor to be

Your Obt' Srvt'.
J. W. DENVER, Governor.

[Endorsed]
Gov Denver to Gov Stewart
Augt 18, 1858.

NECROLOGY.

DR. H. E. ROBINSON.

Dr H. E. Robinson, the second President of the State Historical Society of Missouri, died at his home at Maryville, April 15, 1907. He was born in Battleborough, Vermont, April 22, 1845, his ancestors having been in New England since 1656. He had fifty-three ancestors any one of whom would entitle him to become a member of the Society of Colonial Wars. His father was a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a member of the Vermont Conference, and afterwards of the Wisconsin Conference.

Dr. Robinson enlisted in the 16th Wisconsin Infantry Christmas day of 1863, and served until June 18, 1865. After the war he studied dentistry in Boston, and in March, 1870, came to Maryville, Missouri, to practice his profession, but in 1871 purchased the Maryville Republican. From 1875 to 1886 he again practiced his profession, but in 1888 became the proprietor of the Republican for the second time, and its editor until during his last sickness.

He was a Chancellor Commander of the Knights of Pythias, a Past Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, an ex-President of the Missouri Editorial Association, a member of the State Board of Charities and President of the State Historical Society.

Dr. Robinson was a great reader, and possessed a fine library. In 1897 he privately printed a catalogue with notes of the occult books in his library, this part of his library being one of the most extensive in the country in that line. He was also the author of a half dozen or more other publications, of genealogical and biographical subjects.

SENATOR THOMAS CONNER was born in Kerry County, Ireland, August 1, 1854. He was president of the Miners Bank at Joplin from its organization until his death, and he organized the Joplin Hotel Company in 1877.

He was elected senator to the Forty-fourth General Assembly, but his health was such that he was not able to take his seat during the session. He died at San Antonio, Texas, March 29, 1907.

COLONEL JOHN D. CRAFTON came to Kansas City from Kentucky in the early '50's, and engaged in the freighting business. In one venture in Oregon he lost $150,000, and in an Indian raid $50,000 more. During the Civil War he was in the military service, and was advanced to the rank of Colonel. Governor Hardin appointed him Adjutant General of the State, and President Cleveland appointed him to a South American consulship. While living in Jefferson City he lost his wife and three children, two by accident and one by a physician's mistake. He died in Kansas City, March 10, 1907, aged eighty-four years.

HON. MONT CARNES was elected a member of the Legislature from the eastern district of Pettis County, and served in 1891-92. He was depot master at Sedalia and after his term of office was depot master in Kansas City. He died in that city March, 1907, and was buried in Sedalia, the Woodmen of the World, Knights of Pythias and A. O. U. W., of which organizations he was a member, taking part in the funeral services.

HON. JOHN M. DUPUY was born in New York in 1837, of Hugenot and Scotch-Irish descent. His grandfathers were Revolutionary soldiers, his father of the War of 1812, and he with four brothers of the Civil War. He resided in Taney County, Missouri, since 1898, operating a farm, and being a minister of the General Baptist Church. He was elected a member of the House of Representatives in 1904 and re-elected in 1906. During the session of the Legislature he died suddenly at Jefferson City, March 3, 1907.

GENERAL HENRY CLAY EWING was born in Jefferson City, Missouri, August 15, 1828, and died at his home in the same city, March 29, 1907, in which city he had resided all his life, where he was prominent as a business man and president of a bank, a leading lawyer of the State, a member of the House of Representatives in the Thirty-first General Assembly, 1881, a member of the Supreme Court Commission, and Attorney-General of the State during the Woodson administration.

BISHOP JAMES NEWBERRY FITZGERALD was born in Newark, New Jersey, July 27, 1837, was educated in the public schools of that city, and in the law school at Princeton, admitted to the bar in 1858, but after practicing three years gave up that profession, and became a Methodist minister. He was a member of the Newark Conference, and in 1881 was elected Secretary of the Missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church, and in 1888 was elected a Bishop of that church. At various times he has held conferences in foreign countries—in Mexico, South America, Europe and Asia. Last November he went to India to participate in the India Jubilee celebration at Bareilly, and was to have represented the Missionary Society at the centennial of the founding of Protestant missions in China, and also to be present at the organization of the Japanese Methodist Church, in which the different branches of Methodism are to be united. He died at Hong Kong, China, April 4, of pleurisy. For the past ten years Bishop Fitzgerald's episcopal residence has been in St. Louis, where he was recognized as a leader in Methodist movements, and where he had a large share in the founding of the Epworth Evangelistic Institute.

HON. THOMAS B. GANNAWAY was a member of the House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth General Assembly, and for forty years had been identified with the political and business interests of Monroe County. He was at one time Grand Master of the Odd Fellows of the State of Missouri, and a prominent member of the Baptist Church. He died from blood poisoning at Paris, Missouri, March 28, 1907.

JOHN BARNETT JEWELL was born in Scott County, Illinois, July 19, 1841, and died at Springfield, Missouri, March 23, 1907. When quite young he moved to Louisiana, Missouri, where he received a common school education and learned the printer's trade.

In 1867 he entered the ministry of the Southern Methodist Church in Kansas, was transferred to the Missouri Conference, and held pastorates at Cainesville, Cameron, Gallatin, Palmyra and Carrollton. While at the latter place he retired from the ministry, was editor of the Democrat, and postmaster of the city. In 1893 he moved to Springfield, and established the Jewell Publishing Company, and was editor of the Springfield Leader at the time of his death. He was Past Grand Master and Past Grand Representative of the Order of Odd Fellows.

JUDGE W. H. MIZE, a prominent citizen of Stotts City, in southwest Missouri, died April 24, aged 65 years. He was formerly territorial Secretary of Montana.

EMILY R. STEINESTEL McNAMARA was born in Germany in 1842, the youngest daughter of Dr. J. D. Steinestel, who arrived in St. Louis, January 1, 1847, the first homeopathic physician to locate in St. Louis. During the summer of 1849, when the cholera epidemic was at its height, in three hours after returning from visiting its victims he was himself dead. Emily early developed a talent for writing, her contributions being published in the Sunday Republican, and in several magazines. About 1878 she removed to New York City, and resided there to the time of her death, March 15, 1907. In 1879 she married Mr. Miles H. McNamara, and continued her literary work, translating several of Marlitt's works for the "Seaside Library." She also translated "The Peddler's Legacy," "Under the Stork's Nest," and the "Vicar's Diary." "Prince Coastwynd's Victory or the Fairy Bride of Croton Lake" was a fairy story written by her. Belford, Clark and Co., published histories of the different states in words of one syllable, hoping to have them introduced into the lower grades of the public schools. Mrs. McNamara wrote the history of Missouri, published in 1889, and also that of Virginia. She died in New York, but was buried in St. Louis, in the family plot in St. John's cemetery.

CAPTAIN CHARLES B. OWEN was born in Tennessee in 1827 and came to Greene County with his parents when ten years of age. He organized a company of Home Guards at Springfield in 1861, and was the guide who conducted the federal forces to the battlefield of Wilson Creek. He was afterwards in the regular army and was with Sherman in his march from Atlanta to the sea. He died at his home ten miles southwest of Springfield, March 16, 1907.

PROFESSOR JAMES ADDISON QUARLES, D. D., LL. D., a noted educator and writer was born at Boonville, Missouri, and died at Lexington, Virginia, April 14, at the age of 70 years. He had held pastorates of the Presbyterian Church in Missouri, was for ten years president of the Elizabeth Aull Female Seminary at Lexington, Missouri, and for the last twenty-one years professor of moral philosophy at Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

COL. GEORGE S. RATHBUN came from Ohio to Lafayette county before the Civil War, taught school in Greenton Valley in that County, studied law, and in 1860 was elected by the Whig party as a member of the House of Representatives of the Twenty-first General Assembly. During the war he served under Price and Shelby, and attained the rank of Colonel. He was a candidate for representative to the Confederate Congress but was defeated by Vest. After the war he became a very prominent lawyer and some twenty years ago he moved from Lexington to Springfield where he died March 15, 1907, aged 78 years.

CAPTAIN R. E. SEE was sheriff of Montgomery county two terms, and for six years was marshall for the Supreme Court. Under Governor Folk's administration he was appointed Deputy Warden of the penitentiary, and died suddenly of apoplexy at Jefferson City, March 2, 1907, aged fifty-eight years.

COL. GEO. WOODWARD WARDER was born in Richmond, Missouri, May 20, 1848, a lineal descendant of Lord Fairfax, the first Colonial Governor of Virginia, and at the age of eighteen had been a student in the Missouri State University, had taught school, studied law, and was a practicing attorney in Chillicothe, Missouri.

In 1878 he moved to Kansas City where he became wealthy from real estate investments, at one time being rated at three quarters of a million dollars. In 1887 he built the Warder Grand Opera house, an unsuccessful venture which caused the loss of much of his wealth.

He was one of the founders of the state bar association in 1880, and a regular attendant at its annual meetings. He was also one of the original members of the Greenwood Club in Kansas City, and from the versatility of his knowledge and his readiness as a debator, was one of the most frequent participants in the discussions following the reading of papers at the meetings of the club. For years he had not missed attendance at any of its meetings.

He was the author of four volumes of poetry and seven of prose all of which are in the library of the State Historical Society. His royalties on these publications have sometimes amounted to as much as $200 per month.

Colonel George W. Warder, author, poet, traveler, scientist, delightful and eloquent speaker and lecturer, will be missed and mourned by his associates in club and organizations.

JUDGE JOHN W. WOFFORD was born in Habershan county, Georgia, August 14, 1837, of Scotch-Irish parentage. During the Civil War he was on the Confederate side and served in Lee's army under command of General William T. Wofford, of Georgia, and was wounded three times. He lived at Rome, Georgia, and at Cartersville, Georgia, where he was admitted to the bar. He was for several years a member of the Georgia Legislature, House and Senate, and was presidential elector of that state in 1876.

He came to Kansas City, Mo., in 1877, and practiced law until 1892, when he was appointed Judge of the Jackson County Criminal Court, and has ever since held the office by election. After much suffering from a severe ailment, during which he continued to discharge the duties of his office, he died February 25, 1907.

He was somewhat eccentric and was known throughout the whole country for the opinions held by him, and the positiveness of the expression of them in the course of proceedings in his court, and for his plans for the reformation of criminals brought before him, which among other distinguishing points was that of paroling prisoners, requiring them for a certain time to report to him, and helping them to make an honest living. The esteem in which he was held was shown by the fact that the funeral had to be delayed an hour to allow the crowds that came to file past the casket the crowd including the officials of Kansas City, the old citizens and persons in every condition of life, white and black, and including many members of his parole class, who appreciated the fact that he had been their friend, and had been anxious to help them to a higher life.

JUDGE HORATIO D. WOOD was born in Columbus, Ohio, October 8, 1841, of New England ancestry. While a child his parents moved to St. Louis, where he resided until his death, December 15, 1906.

During the Civil War he enlisted as a private in the Fourth Regiment U. S. Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers, and served in northeast and southwest Missouri until the expiration of his term of enlistment in August, 1861. Afterwards he was Captain and Commissary of Subsistence; was brevetted Major U. S. A. for faithful and meritorious service, and was mustered out of service October 9, 1865.

He studied law at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1866, and was admitted to the bar in St. Louis, where he practiced until 1896, when he was elected Judge of the St. Louis Circuit Court for a two year term, and re-elected for four years. After eight years in this office he again entered on the practice of law, and was a prominent member of the bar until the time of his death.

NOTES.

At St. Louis a bronze tablet has been placed at the former residence of General William Clark, under the auspices of the Missouri Historical Society and Civic League of the City, bearing the following inscription:

Here lived and died
William Clark
1770—1838
of the
Lewis and Clark Expedition
Soldier, Explorer, Territorial Governor, Superintendent of Indian Affairs
Erected September 23, 1906
The One Hundredth Anniversary of the
Return of the Expedition.

The address delivered at the unveiling of the tablet was by Dr. Rheuben Gold Thwaites, the well known Secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society in which he gave a sketch of the life and labors of this former citizen of Missouri and benefactor of his race.

Many of the states are actively working now to identify and locate permanently the exact spot upon which important historic events took place, and many such should be marked, not only in St. Louis, but also in other parts of the state.

The Legislature of Nebraska gave the Nebraska Historical Society $2,500 to pay the expenses of publishing the Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1871, and these have been issued as volume eleven of the State Historical Society publications. The preface gives an interesting account of the search for the minutes of the different consitutional conventions of the State, and of the total loss of some which had not been printed, showing the importance of putting in print things of historic value.

The Annotated Catalogue of newspaper files in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, published in 1898 showed the following periodicals of Missouri in the library of that society:

Cape Girardeau: Western Eagle, 1849-1851.
C. G. Eagle, 1862.
Chillicothe: C. Constitution, 1863-64.
Huntsville: Randolph Citizen, 1867.
Louisiana: Pike County News, 1892.
Rolla: Rural Express, 1866.
St. Joseph: Morning Herald, 1863-64.
St. Louis: Age of Steel, 1886-87.
    American Journal of Education, 1874-1883.
    Church News, 1879-1885.
    Colman's Rural World, 1882-85.
    Commercial Bulletin and Missouri Literary Register, 1835-36.
    Commercial Bulletin and Missouri Literary Register, daily, 1837-38.
    Defecator, 1884-86.
    St. Louis Enquirer, 1819-20.
    Lutheraner, 1849-1851.
    Miner and Artisan, 1865.
    Missouri Argus, 1840.
    Missouri Democrat, 1863-69.
    Missouri Gazette, 1808.
    Missouri Land Register, 1865.
    Missouri Republican, 1865.
    Missouri Saturday News, 1838-1839.
    Republic, 1892-93.
    Southwestern R. R. Journal & River Guide, 1866.
    Truth, 1874-1889.
Weston: Border Times, 1864-65.

The Democrat Publishing Company, of Carrollton, Mo., announces the early publication of a work on Civil Government, Local, State and National, and The History of Missouri which is intended for use as a text-book in the elementary schools of this State. Professor Isidor Loeb, of the University of Missouri, is the author of the Civil Government while the History of Missouri is the work of Mr. Walter Williams, editor of The Columbia Missouri Herald.

The American Historical Review for April, 1907, contains an important contribution to the history of the Kansas trouble, entitled The Sharp Rifle Episode in Kansas History, by W. H. Isely.

A new work on Doniphan's Expedition is announced. Doniphan's Expedition and the conquest of New Mexico and California by William Elsey Connelley, is to be published by Bryant and Douglas, of Kansas City. It will include a reprint of Hughes' work published in Cincinnati in 1848. Roland Hughes, son of the author, is assisting Mr. Connelley.

The State Historical Society of Iowa announces the following new publications: Journal of the War of 1812 by John C. Parish, a Biography of Robt. Lucas by the same author, the Executive Journal of Iowa by Prof. Shambaugh, and a series of biographies of Iowa men. The appropriations made by the state to the Society is sufficient to allow it to do important and extensive work.

SOME OF OUR EXCHANGES.

The American Catholic Historical Researches for January has a table of contents showing twenty articles relating especially to Catholics. It is published in Philadelphia.

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register enters upon its 61st volume with the January number, and is of great interest to New Englanders and their descendants.

The New England Historic Genealogical Society which publishes it, calls upon its friends for donations for some eight different objects, varying from $5,000 to $120,000, in all about $250,000.

Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History for March begins its third volume. The most of the historical magazines are issued by Societies, but this is published by an individual in Indianapolis, who is doing good work for the history of that State.

Register of Kentucky State Historical Society commences its fifth volume with the January number. The State Legislature at its first appropriation for the Society gave it $5,000 per year, enabling it to not only publish its quarterly, but to build up the Society generally.

The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine issued at Charleston by the South Carolina Historical Society for January is almost entirely filled with matter relating to the Revolutionary War, and to the early settlers of that State.

The Washington Historical Quarterly for January has quite a number of papers of moderate length. It is issued by the Washington University State Historical Society at Seattle.

Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly for January has more than one hundred pages giving an account of the Grogan celebration, the anniversary of the victory achieved by Major George Grogan over the British General Proctor, and the Indian Chief Tecumseh, it being the turning of the tide of the war of 1812.

Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society for March is issued in Philadelphia by a Society representing some eight or nine Presbyterian churces. The illustrated article on a year of Presbyterian church building in New York shows an expenditure of two and a half million dollars for seven church buildings in that city.

American Journal of Archaeology for January has one hundred and forty pages of papers, notes and bibliographies relating to the Archaeological Institute of America at Norwood, Masachusetts.

The Iowa Journal of History and Politics for January has more than one hundred pages of the three leading articles. The Journal is issued by the State Historical Society at Iowa City. The April number has a valuable bibliography of the territorial documents of Iowa.

Annals of Iowa for January issued by the Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines is in the seventh volume of the third series. Among other papers is an interesting one on the condition of the public archives of Iowa. A similar report on Missouri is being prepared by Dr. Viles, of the State University. The Annals has eleven full page illustrations. The number for April has also come to hand.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, commences its 31st volume with the January number. The Society has a publication fund of $40,000, the interest from which is used in publishing the magazine and the Memoirs of the Society. The fund was contributed by individuals in amounts of $25 and upwards.

The John Hopkins University Studies for January gives a history of internal taxation in the Philippines under Spanish rule and under American rule, by John S. Hord, Collector of Internal Revenue in the Islands.

The University of Colorado Studies for February has all but one of its papers relating to the economics, history and natural history of the State, one of the latter illustrated with two plates.

The Journal of American History of which the first and second numbers have been issued at New Haven is the largest of all the historical magazines, being the height of the American Historical Review but wider, 10 1-2 by 8 inches, and of nearly 200 pages. The arrangement and typography of the publication are so different from other historical magazines, that one must become somewhat accustomed to them before appreciating all their good points. The magazine is issued by the Associated publishers of American records and has many reproductions of rare prints and works of art, reprints of rare journals, diaries and documents, and each number has a full title page illumination in colors of some coat-of-arms of families of early settlers in America.

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography for April has journals of the Council of Virginia in executive sessions, 1737-1763, Virginia Colonial records, Virginia legislative papers, and various contributed articles. It is published by the Virginia Historical Society at Richmond.

German American Annals, the organ of three German Societies, for March and April has a twenty-five page article in German by Professor Otto Heller, of Washington University, St. Louis, and Bibliography of German Americana for the year 1906 by William G. Bek, a graduate of our State University, and author of a book noticed in this number of the Review.

BOOK NOTICES.

The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony Hermann, Missouri. William G. Bek. (Philadelphia, Americana Germanica Press, 1907. Pp. XI, 170. Plates 20.)

A new series of monographs under the above title, devoted to the comparative study of the literary, linguistic and other cultural relations of Germany and America is being published under the editorship of Professor Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The above volume, the fifth one of the series, has been prepared by an alumnus of our State University, and a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri. The author is now writing the history of the German Communistic Settlement in Shelby County, a history which the author thinks will be of even more interest than that of the settlement of Hermann.

In 1800 there were in Pennsylvania alone 150,000 Germans, and in 1836 a Society was organized there for the purpose of establishing , preferably in the "Far West," a Society that should be purely German, that should as the author says, "enjoy both the advantages of America and the pleasures of the Fatherland!" The work gives in detail the organization of the Society, the purchase of land on the Missouri River, and the establishment of the Colony to which was given the name of Hermann. Its history is given while under the supervision of the Society in Philadelphia, its complete separation from the parent Society in 1839, the names of all the shareholders, and the details of education, government, industries, and religious, social and literary life.

The publication is one of the most important of the local histories of Missouri that has ever been issued, and is a credit not only to its author, but to his Alma Mater where he had the training that prepared him for the work of a historian.

F. A. S.

MISSOURI STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY.

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Anna Gilday, Kansas City, Secretary.

EDITORS.

Eugene Fair, Kirksville.
State Editor.

N. M. Trenholme, Columbia.
Local Editor.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Owing to a variety of reasons the Department has not attempted to hold another meeting this spring although it had been suggested at Moberly that a biennial meeting might take place at Columbia on High School Day at the beginning of May. The difficulty of organizing a programme, the uncertainty of the attendance from outside, the absence from the state of our new Chairman, and other minor reasons made it seem inadvisable to call such a meeting at that time. The project of an additional meeting has not been abandoned, however, and it is hoped to arrange a joint meeting either next fall or next spring with the State Historical Society either at Columbia or elsewhere.

The attention of History Teachers in the state is again called to the desirability of having an official organ such as the Missouri Historical Review and they are strongly urged to support it and the State Historical Society by their subscriptions. The small sum of one dollar sent to Mr. F. A. Sampson, Secretary of the State Historical Society, Columbia, Mo., will entitle the subscriber to membership in the Society and to the review for one year. We sincerely hope that all teachers of history who are interested in their subject and in the history of the state of Missouri will avail themselves of this offer.

It is interesting to note that the recent annual report of the State Superintendent of Public Schools contains three of the excellent papers presented at the Moberly meeting, namely, Superintendent O'Rear's paper on "History in the Grades," Professor Rullkoetter's on "History in the College," and Professor Lewis' on "The Normal School Course in History." The publication of these papers in such a widely circulated work as the State Superintendent's Report will do good to the cause of history in the state and is to be much commended. It is much to be regretted that a similar paper discussing the High School Course of Study was not submitted and then published, as the question is a live and important one.

At the recent meeting of the North Central History Teachers Association, held at Chicago March 29-30, this state was well represented by Mr. Lewis, Central High School, Kansas City, Dr. Pooley, Normal School, Kirksville, and Professor Trenholme, University of Missouri. The two last named were on the programme, Dr. Pooley delivering a paper on "Causes for Immigration during the Period 1830-1850" and Professor Trenholme one on "Research Methods in the Study of English History," a portion of which is printed in this number of the Review. The meetings of the Association were held in the theater and large lecture hall of the well known "settlement" of Hull House which gave added interest and pleasure to those present. The president of the Association, Professor Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, opened the proceedings Friday afternon by calling on Miss Jane Addams, the head of Hull House, to discuss the topic of "The Influence of the Foreign Population on the Teaching of History and Civics." Miss Addams in her address spoke of the new duties and obligations imposed on American educators by the large foreign element in the schools and made a plea for greater breadth and sympathy in dealing with the children of old world countries.

In the course of her address she introduced a number of interesting illustrations of the effect of American conditions on foreigners and of the survival of old world sentiments in foreign communities in Chicago. Miss Addams was followed by Professor Frank S. Bogardus, of the Indiana State Normal, Terre Haute, by Mr. Wm. Radebaugh, of the Daniel Webster School, Chicago, and by Professor Karl F. Geiser, of the Iowa State Normal, Cedar Falls. These gentlemen discussed different phases of the problem from various aspects but there seemed to be no unanimity of opinion as to the influence, if any, that the foreign population had exercised on the teaching of History and Civics. After the speakers on the programme had concluded there was some additional discussion on the part of Chicago teachers in the audience and some good points were made. The tendency was, however, to get away from the question of influence on teaching and to discuss how the foreign element should be made American and what aspect of History and Civics it was most advisable to emphasize in the grades and in High School work. One teacher of experience expressed the opinion that the simpler aspects of English and American popular representative government should be chiefly emphasized when teaching foreigners History and Civics as a preparation for good citizenship and this seemed to commend itself to most of those who were present. The discussion ended about five-thirty and a short intermission followed during which members became better acquainted with each other. At six the Association sat down to a very pleasant repast in the dining room of Hull House and afterwards inspected the settlement building.

The evening session was held in Bowen Hall, the large lecture room of Hull House, and an audience of some two hundred listened to a very able and practical address on "The Teaching of American History in Schools and Colleges" delivered by Professor Edward Channing, of Harvard University. Professor Channing dealt with his subject in a manner calculated to commend his address to the teachers present emphasizing the need of interesting students in the history of their country and of bringing out the deeper factors in American History. He deprecated the too great attention often paid to military history and especially to the colonial and revolutionary wars and advised his hearers to seek to cover as much as possible of the constitutional period in the High School. Professor Channing's whole paper was helpful and interesting to teachers and showed him to be a master of the problems connected with the treatment of American History in high schools and colleges.

The third and last session of the Association was held in the theater of Hull House on Saturday morning, March 30th. A business meeting first took place at which after some reports and discussions the election of officers for 1907-8 was held. Professor George C. Sellery, of the University of Wisconsin was elected President and a representative from Missouri was placed on the Executive Committee in the person of Professor N. M. Trenholme, of the University of Missouri. At the conclusion of the business meeting the programme of papers for the morning was taken up the general topic being "Some Results of Research Work with Special Emphasis on Methods Employed." The first paper by Dr. W. V. Pooley was a full and interesting discussion of the "Causes for Immigration during the Period 1830-1850" and showed careful and conscientious study of sources and material. This paper was followed by a very clear and interesting exposition of "The Relations between the Continental Congress and the States" by Professor C. H. Van Tyne, of the University of Michigan. The programme of the morning was closed by an address on "Research Methods in English History" by Professor N. M. Trenholme who illustrated his remarks by reading the opening chapter of his forthcoming study on "The English Monastic Boroughs." The Association then adjourned the members all being of the opinion that the sessions had been thoroughly enjoyable and profitable. It is to be hoped that the meeting next spring will be equally as well attended.

The History Department of the Normal School at Kirksville is rejoicing in the recent acquisition of a "reflectoscope," an instrument by means of which photographs, pictures, etc., can be reflected on a screen just as if they were lantern slides. The history men at Kirksville have developed the use of the lantern in history teaching further than at any other institution in the state and deserve great credit for their work along this line. It is understood that Professor Violette will teach at Kirksville during the coming summer term and a strong list of history courses will be offered. Mr. Vaughn is planning to spend the summer in graduate work in the east.

The appointment of Mr. Mac Anderson to the position in History and Economics at the Springfield Normal has recently been announced and we congratulate Mr. Anderson on his excellent position. Mr. Anderson is an A. B. of the University of Missouri and has taught history in the Columbia High School, at the Cape Girardeau Normal, and at Missouri Valley College. He has also specialized largely in Economics and will no doubt develop that side of the work of his department.

Mr. C. C. Eckhardt, who has been on leave of absence at Cornell completing the work for the Ph. D. degree, returns to his work in Modern History at the University of Misosuri next fall. Dr. C. C. Crawford, who has been substituting for Mr. Eckhardt, has accepted an instructorship at a higher salary at the University of Kansas, where he had his undergraduate course. Professor Viles has accepted an invitation to give the course on American History in the Harvard Summer school this coming summer. It is probable that another assistant will have to be appointed for next year on account of the greatly increased enrollment in History and the prospects for still more students in 1907-8.

Mr. S. D. Gromer, Instructor in History and Economics in the University of Missouri, has recently been offered the excellent position of Treasurer of the Island of Porto Rico at a salary of $5,000 and an official residence. Mr. Gromer was recommended for the position to President Roosevelt by Senator Warner, of this state, and after an interview with the President was formally tendered the place. He has provisionally accepted the appointment and expects to enter on his new duties about the middle of June. Mr. Gromer is a man of fine training and ability and will undoubtedly make an excellent official. We congratulate him on the recognition he has received.

Amongst the new works in history of special interest to teachers we notice the following: "Provisional Report on a Course of Study in History" by a Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association; an attempt to lay out a suitable course in history for the grades. This report will be reviewed in our next number. Elson "History of the United States of America," Macmillan Co.; an interesting one volume history, a notice of which will appear in our next number; and Fling "A Source Book of Greek History," Heath & Co., which will supply a long felt want in a portion of the ancient field and which will also be reviewed in our next.

Among the interesting articles in the historical reviews we notice in the April number of the American Historical Review the account of the meeting of the American Historical Association at Providence, and special articles on colonial and United States topics by E. P. Cheyney, C. H. Van Tyne, W. H. Isely and J. A. Woodburn, besides a number of interesting documents and book reviews and notices. In the English Historical Review there are articles of merit on "Motes and Norman Castles in Ireland" and "England and the Ostend Company." The best article, however, is a ten page appreciation of Professor Frederic William Maitland, whose death last December was a most severe loss to historical scholarship, by Professor Paul Vinogradoff, in which is clearly set forth those qualities of Maitland's work that made him so successful an historian. A series of interesting and important Notes and Documents, and a number of Reviews and book notices complete the contents of the Review.

The Division of History and Political Sciences, comprising the Departments of History, Economics, Political Science and Public Law, and Sociology, of the University of Missouri has brought out an extensive special announcement of courses for the coming year. This announcement shows the remarkable growth in the political and social sciences at the university as it contains the names of eleven men giving instruction in these fields and announcements of no less than seventy separate courses in the various departments of the Division of History and Political Sciences. Of these seventy courses, twenty-eight are offered in History, exclusive of courses in Ancient History given by the Greek and Latin departments. The special announcement can be obtained from the University Publisher, Columbia, Mo.

AN ILLUSTRATION OF RESEARCH METHODS IN ENGLISH HISTORY.

(A paper read before the North Central History Teachers' Association, 1907, by Professor N. M. Trenholme, University of Missouri.)

It has always seemed to me that American students possess undoubted advantages for the study of and research into problems connected with the political, institutional, and social development of the English people. This is particularly true indeed, for the period previous to and including the Puritan revolution of the seventeenth century for up to that time the history of England is the history of the forefathers and remoter kinsman of many of us. Then again our institutions are so largely founded on those of England, our law is based on English common law, our form of government follows the English, and our speech, our home organization, and our society in general come closer to being English than to being anything else. It is, therefore, exceedingly natural and logical that American students should take up in a sympathetic and understanding manner many of the problems of the history of England and should handle them with success, winning the approbation of Englishmen as a result of their work. In fact a well trained American student of English History has perhaps some advantages over the British born as he is possessed of better historical perspective and can view the events of the past both sympathetically and impartially on account of his Anglo Saxon blood and his absolute divorce from the British monarchy.

It is not, indeed, too much to say that next to the history of their own country American students take most kindly to the history of England. The way is neither difficult nor thorny for the great mass of secondary literature is in English, with a few German works of note, by men like Schmidt, Liebermann, Gneist, Pauli, and Ranke, and still fewer French. There are many sources in English and the rest, in medieval Latin, English-French or Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Saxon, present but slight difficulties to the aspiring student. As a result of the attraction offered by this field more and more of our graduate schools are developing their Englsh history courses and more and more students are following out lines of research in English institutional history. More masters' theses and doctors' theses in English history are constantly being prepared and new light cast on obscure features of English political, social, and institutional development.

If one glances back over the production of American historical scholarship and research during the last thirty years attention will at once be drawn to the notable contributions made to English history. Beginning in the seventies we have the famous "Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law" prepared by a group of brilliant and hard working young Harvard men under the direction of Professor Henry Adams. From among the Johns Hopkins studies we have Andrews' scholarly study of "The Old English Manor;" from the older Wisconsin circle came the valuable contributions to English local history of the late Professor W. B. Allen; from Nebraska emanated Professor George Howard's study of "The King's Peace;" Professor Charles Gross, a graduate of Williams College, produced the first draft of his "Gild Merchant" as a Berlin doctor's thesis and a few years later published his larger work. Studies such as these, to mention but a few, led the way, more and more have followed until now to think of research in English history is to recall a host of valuable studies by young American students who have been trained to their work by masters of research and have sought to imitate their teachers in thoroughness of scholarship.

Opportunities for research work in English History in this country are becoming greater and greater with the growth of special collections in our great libraries. The most complete collection of research material for English History in this country is undoubtedly to be found in and around Boston, in the Boston Public Library, which is especially strong in English local history, and at the Harvard College Library, which is splendidly equipped with both sources and secondary works. There is good material also at Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Pennsylvania, and Cornell in the east, and at Chicago and Wisconsin, in particular, in the west, while other universities, such as Michigan and Nebraska, have comparatively large collections for work in English history. In fact there are few of the larger institutions offering courses leading to the masters' and doctor's degrees that do not have sufficient material to justify the selection of a thesis subject for the higher degrees in English history.

The present writer confesses a close personal interest in the question of research work and methods in English history as he has not only followed out two or three modest topics himself but has guided a number of students along similar lines in the preparation of theses for the master's degree in history. It was in fact with the hope of possibly stimulating research interest in this field and making clear some of the methods to be used by students that he accepted the assignment of this paper. An attempt will, therefore, be made to show how a problem in English history should be attacked and worked out to a satisfactory conclusion and to give a more concrete aspect to the discussion the writer will take a study of "The English Monastic Towns," upon which he is at present engaged, as the basis of his remarks.

The selection of a research topic is probably easier in connection with English history than many people suppose for there are so very many interesting questions, especially of an institutional character, entirely unworked or only half worked out by English historians of the past. In the case of the English Monastic Towns it was found that as a class they had practically been neglected and that no writer on English municipal history had troubled himself about them. The investigator's first work, therefore, was to compile as complete a list as possible of the towns or boroughs under monastic lordship and then having arranged these towns by counties to compile a beginning bibliography of material upon which to work. This material had to be arranged under two heads:

1. **General**—Relating to the monastic towns as a whole and their status and development.

2. **Special**—Relating to the individual towns and their history and institutions.

Material of a general sort was soon found to be lacking outside of the work of a few writers like Stubbs, Maitland, Thompson and Mrs. J. R. Green's. Material of a special sort, on the other hand, was found to be most plentiful in the shape of county and borough histories, abbey chronicles, records of suits between monasteries and towns, and many miscellaneous sources of information. A fairly large bibliography was then made and with this as a guide research work proper began. The method of note taking pursued was that practically universal among research students, namely the loose leaf system by which a separate sheet of paper is used for each note the title of the source being given in the upper left hand corner and the subject of the note in the upper right hand—the center can be used conveniently for the date. This system has distinct advantages over any other particularly in connection with classifying and arranging notes and has been strongly recommended by Langlois and Seignobos in their excellent manual on historical method entitled "An Introduction to the Study of History," a book which all serious students of history should read carefully at least once. It can be had in a fairly good English translation, with a valuable preface by the late Professor York-Powell. The process of note taking and note arranging is long and laborious and constitutes the major part of ordinary research work. It calls for the exercise of certain qualities of judgment, selection, and criticism, and affords valuable training to the student. As the work of collecting material advances clearer ideas as to the research topic and its limitations naturally develop and the investigator is inevitably led to draw up some definite plan of treatment for his subject.

The first material to be worked over by the research student is the printed matter relating to his subject of both a secondary and source character. In connection with the speaker's own topic this consisted for the most part of county and town histories, local records in print, biographies of leading abbots, and various other sources of information in regard to the monastic towns. Full use was made of the source material available in the Harvard and Boston libraries and a doctoral dissertation was prepared as a result of these researches into printed sources of information. Soon afterwards, however, the opportunity to go abroad was presented and nearly a year was spent in further research in the British Museum Library and at the Public Record Office. Additional secondary material was found and new printed sources as well, but the most valuable work was done in connection with manuscript material found in the different repositories. Many new facts were obtained -from unprinted record books, registers, plea rolls, petitions and other mediaeval records and as a result a much more complete and accurate picture of the monastic towns as a class can be drawn.

Having collected material sufficient for the purposes of exposition the next task is exposition itself. This is a very difficult part of research work and some students do not get further than the collection of the material, but if research work is to mean anything the results of investigation should be clearly and fully set forth. Time will not permit of any detailed discussion of exposition as a part of research work but the student ought to realize that what he writes should be clear and intelligible to those not intimately acquainted with his narrow field of work and should avoid a too factual or technical treatment of his topic. He must also be careful not to overlook new contributions of importance in connection with his topic which may have appeared while he has been engaged in his exposition but which critics could reasonably expect him to take notice of. Nothing is more mortifying to a research worker than to be charged with lack of diligence or with culpable oversight of material.

In this brief introductory address I have tried in part to meet the requirements laid down by the general subject heading of "Some Results of Research Work with Special Emphasis on the Methods Employed" and I shall now complete my task by reading the opening chapter of the study in the English Monastic Towns upon which I have been basing a large part of these remarks.

The speaker then read a short paper dealing with the topic of the "English Monastic Boroughs" and their origins and classification as an illustration of the character of the research work upon which he had recently been engaged.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Outlines of Ancient History. By William C. Morey, Ph. D., D. C. L., Professor of History and Political Science, University of Rochester. (American Book Co., New York, 1906. Pp. 550.)

In the last few years so many text-books have appeared covering the Ancient Period that one is under the necessity of asking "why another"? Any one of these works usually shows some marked features of improvement making it useful as a text or for supplementary reading. This volume of Professor Morey's is no exception to the rule. The maps, illustration and references for reading are the especially strong points about this work. The maps do "indicate in outline the most important changes in the geographical history of the Ancient World." The illustrations are historical in their nature and not merely for show. The references for reading are given in clear form and in most places are not too numerous to become confusing—but would it not be better to separate source references from secondary ones? The fuller bibliography in the appendix is also a commendable feature, though an occasional mistake is found in this list (e. g. "Broughton" for "Boughton").

In other respects than the above this text book shows no really distinctive characteristics. There is the usual and somewhat arbitrary manner of dealing with the Oriental peoples. For illustration (p. 32, "Egyptian Society and Government") "The highest offices of the state were held by priests who were exempted form all taxes and held the best parts of the land." The high school student will, in most cases, it is feared, take it that this statement holds good for all periods of Egyptian history. There are many instances of this kind not only with regard to the Oriental peoples but also in dealing with the Greeks and the Romans.

The main body of the text, on the Greeks and Romans, seems for the most part, like the portion on the Orient, to be based on secondary and even third hand material; hence whether taken from the author's own "Outlines of Greek History" or "Outlines of Roman History" or other works of like nature, the narrative has the tendency to become not only dry but untrustworthy at times. This is not nearly so noticeable in connection with the Roman period as earlier.

Finally, it might be said that from the standpoint of an increasingly large number of teachers the heavy type paragraph headings and the noticeable lack of dates at the beginning of chapters are faults and are distinctly unpedagogical. It is the writer's conclusion that, taking all things into consideration, Professor Morey's new text is merely an average production. E. F.

History of Ancient Civilization. By Charles Seignobos, Doctor of Letters of the University of Paris. Translated and edited by Arthur Herbert Wilde, Professor of History, Northwestern University, with an introduction by James Alton James, Ph. D., Professor of History, Northwestern University. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1906.)

Teachers of history will extend a hearty welcome to this translation of Professor Seignobos' work on ancient civilization, the more so as this volume is the first of three, the others dealing with medieval civilization and contemporary civilization respectively. Professors Wilde and James have done an excellent piece of work not only in planning this series but also in seeing that the plan materializes in scholarly form. Two often American scholars have taken their translating and editorial duties too lightly and confided the translation to incompetent persons so that the result has been unfair to the original work. In the present case no such charge can be made as the translating and editing; for which Professor Wilde deserves great credit, are all that one could possibly ask for. In fact the general arrangement and get-up of the book is admirable in every way.

After a brief, clear treatment of pre-historic times and the problems they present the author passes to history proper and discusses the materials of history, the so-called periods, the sources for the history of ancient civilization, and the races and peoples of ancient times. Then follow a series of most readable and stimulating chapters on the Oriental peoples in which the various aspects of the civilization of Egypt, Assyria, India, Persia, Phoenicia, and Palestine are described and discussed. The remainder of the volume is occupied with the Greeks and Romans the former being given eight chapters and the latter eleven. The treatment of the civilization of Ancient Greece is particularly clear and interesting though at times Professor Seignobos makes somewhat sweeping general statements and in order to enliven his narrative he frequently quotes the stock legends and ancedotes of ancient history. This is also true of the Roman though in the main a critical spirit is displayed, as in the case of the early Roman kings and the stories about them, and emphasis is laid on the more solid aspects of history rather than on the surface events. The amount of attention given to the fundametnal instituions of society, the family, the home, the city, the state and so forth make this work particularly valuable for reference reading—by high school teachers and students in connection with the ordinary outline of Ancient History in the first year of the high school.

There is a notable absence of political details throughout the work and the author has shown most excellent ideas of proportion and relative space. In an appendix there is an excellent brief classified bibliography of reference works for the different periods and countries. The absence of a good index, or in fact any index, is only partially atoned for by the somewhat full table of contents. A curious omission in connection with this same table of contents is that of the page numbers of the several chapters, so that as a reference list of topics its usefulness is greatly impaired. These are minor faults and oversights, however, and as a whole this work merits a warm welcome by teachers and extended use. N. M. T.

Essentials in Mediaeval and Modern History (from Charlemagne to the Present Day). By Samuel Bannister Harding, Ph. D., Professor of European History, Indiana University, in consultation with Albert Bushnell Hart, L. L. D., Professor of History, Harvard University. American Book Company, New York, 1905; pp. 612, xxxi.)

This substantial and imposing history is the last and in many ways the best of the series, now well known to teachers, of "Essentials of History," in which a consistent attempt has been made by careful editorial work and competent authorship to carry out the ideas of the Committee of Seven in regard to the four years course in History for High Schools. Professor Harding is well known as a specialist in European History and his account of the progress of Europe from Charlemagne to the present is most excellent. A brief introductory chapter suffices to cover the period from the beginnings of barbarian invasion to the coronation of 800 A. D. The succeeding chapters are arranged in groups under well selected heads and a thoroughly clear and full, we are inclined to think at times almost too full, survey of the various topics and subtopics is given. The medieval period proper is covered in three sections under the heads of "Empire and Papacy," "Age of the Crusades," and "Rise of National States." The next section deals rather summarily with the "Renaissance and Reformation," giving special attention to the latter movement and the great religious wars that followed but rather neglecting the great intellectual and cultural movement that came first. Under the caption of "The Old Regime" the period of French ascendency in the 17th century, the struggle for constitutional monarchy in England, the rise of Russia and Prussia, and the age of Frederick the Great are fully and carefully outlined with, however, an almost bewildering mass of detail and innumerable dates. This is likely to be confusing to young students and this part of the text is inclined to be too factual. In the next section devoted to "Revolution and Reaction" a better balance is maintained and a good clear sketch of the French Revolution and its far-reaching results is given. In the final division entitled "Democracy and Expansion" the more recent aspects of European history are dealt with such as the great movements for political unification in Italy and in Germany, the British Empire, International Relations, and the Awakening of the East, bringing the story of Europe up to date.

Whatever faults as a text-book Professor Harding's work has arise from its virtues as a history rather than from any real defects. May not the question be be raised, "Do we not expect too much from our high school pupils in the way of details and obscure the real meaning and value of history as a study by making it the task of memorizing past events?" Professor Harding's text is rather long and difficult for the second year of a high school course and contains too many of the so-called "essential facts." It is, however, scholarly and interesting and is really "history," which is more than can be said of many history text-books. It seems remarkably free from errors and misprints and is well equipped with pedagogical aids in the shape of maps, illustration, topics, references, and bibliographies. There is also a good, usable index.

N. M. T.

NOTE—The Bibliography intended for this number has been crowded out, and will be in the next number of the Review.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

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GLIMPSES OF OLD MISSOURI BY EXPLORERS AND TRAVELERS. *

The first visit of white men to Missouri was only a half century after the discovery of America, and it was not made then for the purpose of settlement or trade, but to find the mythical treasures of gold and precious stones and of rich cities, which were at that time believed to exist. Ferdinand de Soto, with a band of adventurous followers, in May, 1539, landed in Florida and began his march to the interior—a march that was not yet ended when he died three years later. After nearly two years of toiling and fighting and disappointments, he discovered the Mississippi, and making rafts crossed it, probably at the lower Chickasaw Bluffs. He continued his journey northward until he came somewhere in the neighbor-

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* Read before the State Historical Society at its first annual meeting, 1901.

hood of New Madrid, when he turned again westward and southward. He still had found no gold, no gems, no cities; instead of these there were swamps, and forests, and prairies, and those of Missouri did not again see a white man for one hundred and thirty-one years.

In May, 1673, Joliet and Marquette accompanied by five Frenchmen started from Mackinaw in two canoes, to explore the Mississippi, rumors concerning which had been reported by Marquette in the "Jesuit Relations," some three years before. One month later they discovered and entered the Mississippi at the mouth of the Wisconsin and floated down to the mouth of the Arkansas.

Marquette's account of the trip is in a collection of voyages by Thevenot, printed in Paris in 1781. He mentions buffalo, deer, swans, the mouth of the Missouri, which he called Pekitanoui, Grand Tower, and the mouth of the Ohio. Joliet wrote an account also, but by accident it was lost. He wrote another from memory, and this was given in abstract by Hennepin in one of his volumes. The accounts of each were also published in the "Jesuit Relations."

La Salle in February, 1682, started on a trip down the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois, and explored it to its mouth, giving the name of Louisiana to the country. During his journey he slept at least one night on the Missouri side, and it is sometimes stated that he was the first white man to do so with the possible exception of De Soto. I do not, however, know of any evidence to show that Joliet and Marquette did not sleep on the west side of the river when they were upon it.

Hennepin was with La Salle on his expedition, and published an account in Paris in 1688, later editions having much added that was not true. His book has been published in several languages, and in twenty-four editions Several other members of the party also published reports of the trip.

Baron le Hontan was, if his claims are true, the first to explore the Missouri. He wrote in "New Voyages to North America," that he entered the mouth of the river in March, 1689, reached the first village of Missouris the next day, and the second one on the day following. Three leagues from this village, at the mouth of the Osage, they encamped. There he had a skirmish with the Indians, afterwards destroyed one of their villages, and returned to the mouth of the river. His account is not thought to be entirely trustworthy.

In 1703 a party of twenty set out from Illinois to go up the Missouri river, and on to New Mexico, but the result of the expedition has not been preserved. After 1703 an expedition was sent up the Osage, and in 1719 Dutigne went as far as Kansas. This activity on the part of the French alarmed the Spaniards, so that in 1719 they organized an expedition to go from Sante Fe to Missouri, and there join with the Osages in destroying the Missouris, whom they believed to be under the influence of the French, and to establish a military post on the Missouri. For this purpose full preparations were made, including the establishment of a permanent colony. The account which is the fullest and supposed to be the most correct is by Dumont in his ''Historic Memoirs of Louisiana,'' published in 1753. He states that he was a member of a party to ascend the Arkansas in search of emeralds, and that the commander of it received letters and orders from M. de Bienville, and that in the letters was the account of the matter as given by him. The caravan was composed of fifteen hundred men, women and children, including the soldiers and a chaplain, and having a great number of horses, cattle, and farming implements. The map of the route they were to take was not nearly enough correct, or they did not properly observe it, as they were unknowingly led into a village of the Missouris instead of the Osages. The commander believing that he was among the latter, told the plan that he had laid out, and offered to join them in destroying their enemies, the Missouris. The chief saw the mistake that the Spaniards had made, but he pretended to agree to the plan, and asked for delay to collect his warriors, and for arms to give them. His request was granted, and when enough warriors were collected together, they fell upon the caravan, and killed all except the chaplain. At that time these Indians had never seen a horse, and they found sport in making the chaplain ride for their amusement; finally he made his escape by galloping off from the camp, and making his way to a settlement of whites.

Perkins in his "Annals" claims that it was the Pawnees instead of the Osages. The place of the massacre is given by some authors as in the eastern part of Kansas, while others believe that it was in Saline county, Missouri, and if this is true, the relics obtained from that county by Mr. C. C. Clay of Sedalia may have been the remains of that caravan.

And now passing by expeditions for more than forty years, we come to the time when the trade of the north and northwest was granted to Maxent, Laclede & Co., who in 1763 sent out a party under command of Pierre Laclede Ligueste, better known by his middle name of Laclede, to establish a permanent post. At this time the country east of the Mississippi had been ceded to the English, while on the west side there was only one village, that of Ste. Genevieve, and this had no buildings in it large enough to store the goods which had been brought. The commander of the fort of de Chartres offered to give room for storing until the English should arrive to take possession, which offer was accepted, while Laclede examined all the ground from the fort to the mouth of the Missouri, selecting finally the present site of St. Louis. The beauty of the site and the advantages of the location so pleased him that he predicted that it would become "one of the finest cities in America." In the early spring of 1764 Auguste Chouteau was sent with a party to build cabins and prepare the place for occupation, and from that time dates the founding of the city of St. Louis, there being but one older place in the state, Ste. Genevieve, which was founded before this time though the exact date is not known. In October, 1765, the governor removed to St. Louis, and it became the seat of government for the district. De Neyon was then in command of Upper Louisiana, which to this time went by the name of Illinois.

The account of this expedition and of the settlement of St. Louis was written by Chouteau, his original manuscript in French ,being yet in the Mercantile Library of St. Louis, which had it translated and published in 1858.

The foregoing will for the present suffice for the French and Spanish explorers, though I have not by any means named all of them, and the number of books that have been published giving the accounts of these travels and explorations is quite large—much larger than we are apt to think until we have investigated the matter.

Of the English travels under Spanish rule, I will mention one only—H. M. Brackenridge, a native of Pittsburg, whose father determined to send him, when a small boy, to Ste. Genevieve, to be placed in a French family that he might learn the French language. His book does not fix definitely the time of his trip, but it was probably about 1794, and was made by boat to New Madrid, then a small Spanish military post. He remained there a couple of weeks, when the party he was with started on horseback for Ste. Genevieve, he having a small pony. There being no houses on the way they carried provisions and blankets with them. They passed through a village of "Shawanese" Indians, and after a week or ten days travel reached Ste. Genevieve. The curate was the only one in the village who could speak English. The costume of the place was "a blue cotton handkerchief on the head, one corner thereof descending behind and partly covering the eel skin which bound the hair; a check shirt; coarse linen pantaloons on the hips; and the Indian sandal, or moccasin, the only covering to the feet worn here by both sexes." A quarter of a mile from the town was a village of Kickapoo Indians.

Lewis and Clark's expedition from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean was the first government exploration west of the Mississippi, and was performed in 1804-5-6. The most valuable account of it is contained in a four volume edition by Coues, issued by Francis P. Harper in 1893, and in which the editor gives an extended bibliograhpy of the several publications relating to the expedition, numbering forty or fifty different imprints, without exhausting them as my library contained one not mentioned by him.

This expedition was planned by President Jefferson and placed in command of two young army officers, Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, one of whom afterwards became governor of the Territory of Louisiana, and the other of the Territory of Missouri. It consisted of forty-five persons, and after wintering on the east side of the Mississippi river opposite the mouth of the Missouri, broke camp on the 14th of May, 1804. Of St. Charles, better known to the French as Petite Cote, the journal of the expedition says, "One principal street, about a mile in length and running parallel with the river, divides the town, which is composed of nearly one hundred small wooden houses, besides a chapel. The inhabitants, about four hundred and fifty in number, are chiefly descendants of the French of Canada. In their manners they unite all the careless gayety and amiable hospitality of the best times of France. Yet, like most of their countrymen in America they are ill qualified for the rude life of the frontier—not that they are without talent, for they possess much genius, and vivacity; not that they are destitute of enterprise, for their hunting excursions are long, laborious and hazardous; but their exertions are all desultory; their industry is without system and without perseverence. The surrounding country, therefore, though rich, is not generally well cultivated; the inhabitants chiefly subsist by hunting and trade with the Indians, and confine their culture to gardening, in which they excel."

At this time La Charette, then or soon afterwards the residence of Daniel Boone, consisted of ten small houses, and was the last settlement of whites on the Missouri.

Of the Osage Indians the following interesting account is given: "Among the peculiarities of this people, there is nothing more remarkable than the tradition relative to their origin. According to universal belief, the founder of the nation was a snail passing a quiet existence along the banks of the Osage, till a high flood swept him down to the Missouri, and left him exposed on the shore. The heat of the sun at length ripened him into a man; but with the change of his nature he had not forgotten his native seat on the

Osage, toward which he immediately bent his way. He was, however, soon overtaken by hunger and fatigue, when happily the Great Spirit appeared, and giving him a bow and arrow, showed him how to kill and cook deer, and cover himself with the skin. He then proceeded to his original residence, but as he aproached the river, he was met by a beaver, who inquired haughtily who he was, and by what authority he came to disturb his possession. The Osage answered that the river was his own, for he had once lived on its borders. As they stood disputing, the daughter of the beaver came, and having by her entreaties reconciled her father to this young stranger, it was proposed that the Osage should marry the young beaver, and share with her family the enjoyment of the river. The Osage readily consented, and from this happy union there soon came the village and nation of the Wabasha, or Osages, who have ever since preserved a pious reverence for their ancestors, abstaining from the chase of the beaver, because in killing that animal they killed a brother of the Osage. Of late years, however, since the trade with the whites has rendered beaver-skins more valuable, the sanctity of these maternal relatives has visibly reduced, and the poor animals have nearly lost all their privileges of kindred."

The journal of Patrick Gass, a sergeant in the expedition, is not very full, but frequent comments are made on the beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, and the abundance of game, including deer and bear; the Osage Indians were stated to be "of large size, well proportioned and very warlike." Above the Nodaway they passed two former French settlements, one of which had been a fort, but they were now deserted.

Other government expeditions were under command of Major Z. M. Pike, one during the years 1805 and 1806, and another in 1806 and 1807. The first was from St. Louis to the sources of the Mississippi, and the account of the Missouri part of the trip is taken up with the mention of rivers, bluffs and towns which he passed, the kind and amount of game killed, the distance traveled, and the Indians seen. Of the latter there was a camp of Sacs about ninety miles above St. Louis.

The second expedition was to be from the Cantonment on the Missouri river, where late Osage captives, and delegations of Indians returning from Washington, were to be embarked and transported up the Missouri and Osage rivers to the town of the Grande Osage, and then the journey continued to other points westward. The party embarked at Belle Fontaine, four miles above the mouth of the Missouri, July 15, 1806, and consisted of twenty-two officers and privates, an interpreter and fifty-one Osage and Pawnee Indians who had been redeemed from the Potawatomies, and were now to be returned to their friends. As before, Pike gave in detail the game killed each day, the distance traveled, etc.; the Indians went on foot, accompanied by a part of the soldiers each day.

"Every morning we were awoke by the mourning of the savages, who commenced crying about day-light, and continuing for the space of an hour. I made inquiry of my interpreter with respect to this, who informed me that this was a custom not only with those who had recently lost their relatives, but also with others who recalled to mind the loss of some friend, dead long since, and joined the other mourners purely from sympathy. They appeared extremely affected, tears ran down their cheeks, and they sobbed bitterly; but in a moment they dry their cheeks and they cease their cries. Their songs of grief generally run thus:

"My dear father exists no longer; have pity on me, O Great Spirit. You see I cry forever; dry my tears and give me comfort." The warrior's songs are thus: "Our enemies have slain my father (or mother); he is lost to me and to his family; I pray to you, O Master of Life, to preserve me until I revenge his death, and then do with me as Thou pleaseth."

St. Charles, the seat of justice of the district of St. Charles, then consisted of about eighty houses, principally occupied by Indian traders or their employes. From this town, there were scattering settlements west of La Charette, which was the last except one at a saline on the west side. Opposite the confluence of the Gasconade and the Missouri "commences the line between the Sac Indians and the United States."

One of the principal tributaries of the Osage, the Niangua, is thus referred to:

"The Yungar (or Ne-hem-gar) as termed by the Indians, derives its name from the vast number of springs at its source: it is supposed to be nearly as extensive as the Osage river, navigable for canoes one hundred miles, and is celebrated for the abundance of bear, which are found on its branches. On it hunt the Chasseurs du Bois of Louisiana, Osages and Creeks (or Muskogees) a wandering party of which have established themselves in Louisiana; and between whom and the French hunters, frequent skirmishes have passed on the head of the Yungar."

The friends of the returning Indians met them with horses to carry their baggage. "Their meeting was very tender and affectionate—wives throwing themselves into the arms of their husbands, parents embracing their children and children their parents, brothers and sisters meeting, one from captivity, the others from the towns—they, at the same time returning thanks to the Good God for having brought them once more together; in short, the **tout ensemble** was such as to make polished society blush when compared with these savages, in whom the passions of the mind, either joy, grief, fear, anger, or revenge, have their full scope; why cannot we correct the baneful passions without weakening the good?"

August 17, they arrived at ten French houses on the east shore, where there then resided a Sac, who was married to an Osage femme and spoke French only. Afterward they passed where Mr. Chouteau formerly had his fort, not a vestige of which remained. From this point the village of the Grand Osage was nine miles distant across a large prairie, and by the river at least fifty miles.

"The country around the Osage villages, is one of the most beautiful the eye ever beheld. The three branches of the river, viz: the large east fork, the middle one (up which we ascended), and the northern one, all winding round and past the villages, giving the advantages of wood and water—and at the same time, the extensive prairies crowned with rich and luxuriant flowers—gently diversified by the rising swells, and sloping lawns—presented to the warm imagination the future seats of husbandry, the numerous herds of domestic animals, which are no doubt destined to crown with joy those happy plains."

About twenty miles above the Chouteau fort site they were stopped by drifts, and the boats were unloaded and the goods transported by horses to the village. The bulk of the Osages were warriors or hunters, these terms being synonymous; the remainder were divided into two cclasses, cooks and doctors, the latter being also priests and magicians. Pike attended a performance by these magicians. "They commenced the tragic-comedy, by putting a large butcher knife down their throats, the blood appearing to run during the operation very naturally; the scene was continued by putting sticks through the nose, swallowing bones and taking them ont at the nostrils, &c. At length one fellow demanded of me what I would give if he ran a stick through his tongue, and let another person cut off the piece. I replied, "a shirt." He then apparently performed his promise, with great pain, forcing the stick through his tongue, and then giving a knife to a bystander who appeared to cut off the piece, which he held to the light, for the satisfaction of the audience; and then joined it to his tongue; and by a magical charm healed the wound immediately. On demanding of me what I thought of the performance, I replied I would give him twenty shirts if he would let me cut the piece from his tongue: this disconcerted him a good deal, and I was sorry I made the observation."

Their camp was equidistant from the Great Osage and the Little Osage villages, these being six miles apart, and ruled by different chiefs. From here they continued their journey to the west and on the route from the Missouri river settlements to the vicinity of the villages they found deer, then the elk, then the buffalo, then the cabrie or antelope. The first one of the latter was killed about one hundred and fifteen miles beyond the Osage villages, and past the limits of Missouri.

Thomas Ashe, an Englishman, in 1806 traveled for the purpose of exploring the Mississippi and other western rivers and ascertaining the products and condition of the country. Like many other travelers he noticed the fact that the Missouri rather than the Mississippi was the principal river and that it was always muddy and faster flowing.

In his account are a number of names that differ from the usual ones; the Missouri is the Messauri, Cape Girardeau is Cape Jarido, Kansas is Kanous, the nickname of St. Louis, Pain Cone is probably a misprint for Pain Court, and New Madrid is Lance le Gras.

Of the Indians on the Osage he says:

"The Osage nation of Indians reside on the banks of a river of the same name, eighty leagues from where it enters the Messauri on the right. They consist of about one thousand warriors, of a gigantic stature, being seldom under six feet, and frequently between six and seven in height. They are accused of being a cruel and ferocious race, and are feared and hated by all the other Indian tribes. From the mouth of the Messauri to that of the Osage river is computed eighty leagues. The river Kanous empties in about sixty leagues farther up on the same side, and eighty leagues up it reside the Kanous nation consisting of about three hundred warriors."

When he landed on the Louisiana shore at St. Louis, he saw but one house, and there he was courteously received, the place being a tavern. When Louisiana belonged to Spain the Spanish owners of the land held it at $20 to $100 per acre, but after the transfer to the United States they offered it for one dollar or even less, per acre.

Of Ste. Genevieve he says:

Ste. Genevieve was once principally inhabited by Spaniards; a disgust to the American connection has driven them nearly all off; but their manners and habits remain with the French settlers, who originally resided among them. Hence I have heard the guitar resound soon after sun-set, with the complaints and amorous tales of the village swains, and heard the same hand, which toiled all day in the wilderness and in the waste, strike tender notes of love in the evening. The custom seemed to pervade all ranks. Nearly every house had its group, and every group its guitar, fidler, story-teller, or singer. As the evening advanced and the heat diminished, walking commenced, and towards midnight the music of the village united, the little world crowded to the spot and danced with infinite gaiety and mirth till past one in the morning. The waltz had most favorites; the **Pas de deaux** next, and the Fandango was the favorite of the few remaining Spaniards of the village."

At that time St. Louis had three hundred houses and eighteen hundred inhabitants, which included two hundred negro slaves. He thought that it had been demoralized by the occupation of the Americans, but the gambling of all kinds of which he complains, at least was not mainly due to them.

Christian Schultz, on a voyage through various states and territories, reached Louisiana, at the mouth of the Ohio, in October, 1807. In comparing his statement with that of Ashe, in regard to the size of St. Louis, we are reminded of the fact that care must be exercised in accepting statements of writers as to facts observed by them. This author gave the number of houses in St. Louis as two hundred, while Ashe stated two years before that there were three hundred. The inhabitants were principally French, and there not being enough Americans to have a church of their own, they had the Catholic priest lecture for them in his chapel every Sunday evening. The forts and barracks which had been strongly fortified by the Spaniards, were still occupied by the garrison, and considerable settlements had been made for some hundreds of miles along the Missouri river. Schultz left St. Louis to visit the lead mines seventy-two miles away, and after very frequently losing his way, returned to St. Louis, and got a guide. The daggers and pistols, broils and quarrels of the miners were not to his liking, and he went from them to Ste. Genevieve, to which place, fifty-four miles away there was a good road, but in which distance there was but one solitary cabin. Of that town he said:

"The French use a little kind of cart, to which they harness two horses, one before the other, and drive altogether without reins. The blacksmith, carpenter, the tailor, were the only tradesmen employed at this place; all the other necessaries and conveniences of life are procured by importation, at an enormous expense. The majority of the French at this place are almost as easily supplied as the native Indians; neither of them use any hat or shoes; a pair of mockasons and a blanket seem equally common to both, except that the former will cut his into the shape of a coat, whereas the latter always prefers his loose."

"Ste. Genevieve does not seem to be in want of amusements, if eternal gambling and dancing deserve that name. One ball follows another so closely in succession, that I have often wondered how the ladies were enabled to support themselves under this violent exercise, which is here carried to extremes. The balls generally open at candle-light, and continue till ten or twelve o'clock the next day." "Whenever there is a ball given by even the most rigid and superstitious of these Catholics, there is always one room set apart for gambling. **Vint-un** is the word: and never did I see people embark with so much spirit and perseverence to win each others money, as in this little village. * * Exclusive of these frequent opportunities to indulge their favorite propensities, they have meetings thrice a week for no other purpose than playing their favorite game."

Sunday in the French settlements was a day of general amusements rather than of worship. High mass was performed every Sunday morning lasting half an hour. There was no general cessation of labor, no kind of work or amusement being suspended on account of the day, there being commonly a ball in the evening, and the billiard rooms always crowded."

Among the ludicrous events he gives the following:

"I must not omit entertaining you with a ludicrous circumstance which befell myself on the first day of the new year, which with the Catholics is a day of great festivity and rejoicing. It seems they have a custom for persons who meet on that day to kiss each other. The negro kisses his mistress, and the master kisses his wenches. Yet no one could account for so strange a custom, although it probably is intended as a token of reconciliation, and forgetfulness of all past animosities. It was on the new year, that finding every person arrayed in his best, I thought I could not better please my landlady, who is a rigid Catholic, than by conforming to the fashion. I had accordingly just made some previous arrangements, and had my face well lathered in order to commence the operation of shaving, when I was suddenly seized by the neck and kissed. After the first salutation I was able to move my head a little on one side, and found I was surrounded by eight Pioras Indians, all dressed in their best, who came up in regular succession, and kissed me so completely, that I had not an atom of lather remaining on my face. These poor creatures, knowing that the vicar-general had taken his lodgings at this house, came, it seems, to pay him the compliments of the season; when, finding me dressed in black, without more ado they fell to kissing me; and falling on their knees, expected my blessing, without my being able to explain their mistake. In fact the ceremony proceeded so rapidly, that it was pretty well over before I had recovered from my surprise. But as they still continued on their knees, I thought it would spoil the farce not to go through with the whole, and accordingly for the first time followed the trade I had served a regular apprenticeship to, by giving them my blessing, with a "Domine vobiscum, &c.," and afterwards treated them with a bottle of whiskey, which I soon discovered they thought the better blessing of the two.

The vicar-general, on his return, was so well pleased with the joke, as likewise having escaped their greasy kisses, that he volunteered a bottle of the best from his own stores.

These Indians are part of the remnant of the Pioras tribe, and consist of about twelve families, who are all Catholics, and, from their inability to defend or protect themselves, have been permitted to settle at the lower extremity of the village."

About ten miles above Cape Girardeau, was a town of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, where the author purchased some venison hams. He found among the women a white one, who had been captured when about six years old, but no one seemed to know anything of her history.

Cape Girardeau was then a town with about thirty houses.

John Bradbury, an Englishman, arrived in St. Louis on the last day of 1809, and during the next spring and summer he made frequent trips to points within a hundred miles of St. Louis for the purpose of collecting natural history specimens, and then he joined the John Jacob Astor party under Mr. Wilson P. Hunt, before mentioned.

At Cote sans Dessein, two miles below the mouth of the Osage, they learned that a war party of "Ayauwais, Potowatomies, Sioux, and Saukee nations, amounting to nearly three hundred warriors," was going against the Osages, and some fear was felt for the safety of the Hunt party.

The author gives an interesting account of the practices among the Osages of lamenting for their dead. I have already noticed this custom in the account of Pike's travels, and Brackenridge also tells of the same custom in his work, to be noticed later.

At the village of the Petit Osage Indians near Fort Osage, Bradbury found a man dressed as a squaw, and engaged in work with the squaws. This was for a punishment of one who showed want of bravery, and when once the sentence is passed it lasts for life; the men do not associate with those under this sentence, nor are they allowed to marry.

He continued with the party, until after it had passed beyond Missouri, when he returned with a boatload of furs to St. Louis. Here he was placed in charge of a boat with thirty thousand pounds of lead to be taken to New Orleans, and he was near New Madrid when the well known earthquake called by the name of that town, occurred. His account of it is full and very interesting.

For the second time Mr. H. M. Brackenridge came to Louisiana in 1810, but abandoned his intention of settling there and put in the time in studying the country. For this purpose he decided to join the Lisa expedition, which started up the Missouri river from St. Charles, April 2, 1811. In his journal a number of settlements along the river were noticed; Cote sans Dessein he thought would become an important place, but the French and Indians who then made up its inhabitants do not seem to have been able to achieve this. Valuable salt manufacturing camps were established near the mouth of the Lamine river, and within four or five miles there were seventy-five families. Four days above the Lamine he saw a flock of several hundred pelicans, which were very plenty on the river, while eggs of ducks, geese, brant, &c., were very abundant on the sand bars.

The most severe shock of the New Madrid earthquake experienced by Bradbury was on the 16th of December, 1811; the shocks continued daily for quite a while afterwards, and L. Bringier who was near New Madrid on the 12th of January, 1812, when the most severe one of that month occurred, gave in the American Journal of Science and Arts in 1821, an account of his experiences, and of the effects of the earthquake, with some theories as to its cause. He also gave a full account of the lead mines of Southeast Missouri.

Henry R. Schoolcraft, a competent geologist, visited Missouri in 1818 and 1819, and recorded his observations in several publications. He commenced his story at Mine a Burton, now Potosi, which place he states was the last village of white inhabitants between the Mississippi river and the Pacific ocean. In this, however, he was hardly correct, as Franklin was laid off in 1816, made the county seat of Howard county in 1817, and the land office for the district of Missouri was located there in 1818. Boonville was also laid out and the plat filed for record August 1, 1817.

After examining the forty lead mines in the vicinity of

Potosi, he commenced his journey southward, having one companion, with a horse to carry their effects. On the Osage fork of the Merimac they passed through a village of Delaware Indians; three miles above was another Delaware settlement, and four miles below was a large one of Shawnees. They passed through little agricultural country, seeing bear, deer, elk, buffalo and all kinds of game in great abundance. After much privation and suffering they finally reached Arkansas on the White river, and then turning back into Missouri, they found in what is now Taney county, two families that had lately arrived, and had not yet completed their cabin. Here they remained twelve days, and were then accompanied by the two hunters to a point a few miles south of the present site of Springfield, where they built a small furnace to smelt bullets. From this point they returned to the White river, descended it for some distance, and returned to Potosi by a route further east than the one by which they traveled out.

In 1819 and 1820 a government expedition was sent from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains, under the command of Major Stephen H. Long. Although the party had a steamer yet they were eight days ascending the Mississippi river from the mouth of the Ohio to St. Louis, and on the 21st of June, 1819, they started on the trip up the Missouri river. At St. Charles, which is described as a town of about one hundred houses, "two brick kilns, a tan yard, and several stores," arrangements were made by Say and others to ascend the Missouri by land with horse and packsaddle, keeping near the steamer so that they could easily join it whenever they wished, this arrangement allowing them better opportunities for investigating the natural history of the country. After nine days of hardships they rejoined the boat at Loutre Island.

Nearly opposite the mouth of the Osage was the French village of Cote sans Dessein, containing about thirty families, mostly French. During the late Indian troubles, "the inhabitants of this settlement relying on mutual protection, did not retire, but erected two stockades and block houses for their defense; the Sauks, assisted by some Foxes and Ioways, having by a feigned attack and retreat, induced the greater part of the men to pursue them, gained their rear by means of an ambuscade, and entering the village, raised their war cry at the door of the cabins. The women and children fled in consternation to the block houses. At this juncture a young man was seen, who would not abandon his decrepit mother, even though she entreated him to fly and save his own life, leaving her, who could at best expect to live but a few more days, to the mercy of the savages. The youth, instead of listening to her request, raised her upon his shoulders, and ran towards the stockade closely pursued by the Indians. They fired several times upon him, and he must have been cut off had not a sally been made in his favor. After killing the villagers who fell into their hands, the Indians kept up the attack on the stockade all the day, but finally withdrew without capturing it.

Of the homes of the early settlers he says: "The first dwellings constructed by the white settlers, are nearly similar in every part of the United States. Superior wealth and industry are indicated by the number and magnitude of corn-cribs, smokehouses, and similar appurtenances; but on the Missouri, we rarely meet with anything occupying the place of the barn of the northern states. The dwellings of people who have emigrated from Virginia, or any of the southern states, have usually the form of double cabins, or two distinct houses, each containing a single room, and connected to each other by a roof, the intermediate space, which is often equal in area to one of the cabins, being left open at the sides and having the naked earth for a floor, affords a cool and airy retreat, where the family will usually be found in the heat of the day. The roof is composed of from three to five logs, laid longitudinally, and extending from end to end of the building; on these are laid the shingles, four or five feet in length; over these are three or four heavy logs, called weigh poles, secured at their ends by withes, and by their weight supplying the place of nails."

Of Franklin he says: "This town, at present increasing more rapidly than any other on the Missouri, had been commenced but two years and a half before the time of our journey. It then contained one hundred and twenty log houses of one story, several frame dwellings of two stories, and two of brick, thirteen shops for the sale of merchandise, four taverns, two smith's shops, two large steam mills, two billiard rooms, a court house, a log prison of two stories, a post office, and a printing press issuing a weekly paper. At this time bricks were sold at ten dollars per thousand, corn at twenty-five cents per bushel, wheat one dollar, bacon at twelve and one-half cents per pound, uncleared lands at from two to ten or fifteen dollars per acre. The price of labor was seventy-five cents per day."

There were then more than eight hundred families above Cote sans Dessein.

He rightly thought that at some future time the bed of the river would occupy the then site of the town, and that Boonville on the opposite side of the river, which then had only eight houses, was destined to rival if not surpass its neighbor.

An interesting occurrence is narrated as having taken place on Flat creek near the present site of Sedalia:

"A Mr. Munroe, of Franklin, related to the party that in 1816 he found on a branch of the Lamine, the relics of the encampment of a large party of men, whether of whites or of Indians he did not know. Seeing a large mound near by which he believed to be a cache for the spoils of the party, he opened it and found the body of a white officer, apparently a man of rank, which had been interred with extraordinary care. The body was placed in a sitting posture, upon an Indian rush mat, with its back resting against some logs, placed around it in the manner of a log house, enclosing a space of about three by five feet, and about four feet high, covered at top with a mat similar to that beneath. The clothing was still in sufficient preservation to enable him to distinguish a red coat trimmed with gold lace, golden epauletts, a spotted waistcoat, furnished also with gold lace, and pantaloons of white nankeen. On the head was a round beaver hat, and a bamboo walking stick, with the initials J. M. C. engraved upon a golden head, reclined against the arm, but was somewhat decayed where it came in contact with the muscular part of the leg. On raising the hat, it was found that the deceased had been hastily scalped. To what nation he belonged, Mr. Munroe could not determine. He observed, however, that the button taken from the shoulder, had the word Philadelphia molded upon it. The cane still remains in the possession of the narrator, but the button was taken by another of the party."

It was reported that in 1815 a fight had taken place between some Spanish dragoons and Pawnee Indians on one side, and Sauks and Foxes on the other, and that a Spanish officer pursued an Indian boy, who shot and killed him."

At Fort Osage they found the party that had gone overland from Franklin. It was one hundred five miles above the mouth of the Grand river; established in 1808, it was at this time the extreme frontier of the settlements.

We have now arrived at the time of the formation of the state of Missouri, a period of two hundred and seventy-nine years, or without considering De Soto, a period of one hundred and forty-seven years, and time will not permit of the notice of other travelers, though many of those of later dates have much of interest in their accounts of their travels within or through the state.

FRANCIS A. SAMPSON.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN SALINE COUNTY, MISSOURI.

An early result of the Louisiana Purchase was the change in the character of immigration into Missouri. Kentucky and Tennessee contributed the bulk, and the composite population soon became American: or rather Kentuckian, Virginian and Tennesseean. Among these people were Presbyterians, mostly settling in the counties along the Missouri river: Callaway, Boone, Saline, Lafayette and Jackson. The fact that these pioneers were from the South explains the course, in after years, of the Presbyterians of Missouri in the controversies of the Church: (1) Division in 1837, into the Old and New School wings, when Missouri went "Old School:" (2) Division following war issues, when the Missouri Church aligned itself with the Southern Church.

Until 1832, the Presbyterians of the state were under the jurisdiction of the Synod of Illinois. On October 2nd, 1832, the Synod of Missouri was erected, with three Presbyteries, eighteen ministers and twenty-five churches, representing about 1,000 communicants: Saline county being within the bounds of the Presbytery of Missouri, in the western section of the state. There have been other changes of Presbyterial lines since that day; in 1856 the Synod of Missouri erected a new Presbytery, that of Lafayette, which included Saline county in its bounds, and no change which affected this county has since been made.

There were many pioneer Presbyterian ministers, but as to the first one in the county, there seems to be a doubt. As for this immediate section, the Rev. William Dickson, who was ordained in Kentucky in 1825, came to Missouri shortly after that date. Though he labored in Saline county, he settled in Lafayette county permanently.

The Rev. John L. Yantis, D. D., who became a power in the Church and a historic character, came from Kentucky in 1833, and settled in Saline county, at the Sweet Springs, in the southwestern part. The following comprise an abreviated list of those who figured in the work of the Church in the county, and the years in which they were certainly at work:

Rev. David Coulter, D. D., from Delaware, 1844.
Rev. Gary Hickman, from Maryland, 1844.
Rev. T. A. Bracken (ordained in Missouri), 1848.
Rev. J. T. Paxton, from Virginia, 1849.
Rev. Nathan H. Hall, D. D., from Kentucky, 1853.
Rev. James W. Clark (ordained in Missouri), 1855.

While some of these ministers never actually resided in Saline county, they worked within its bounds; and others should be mentioned: Rev. John Montgomery, D. D., from Kentucky to Pettis county, in 1857; Rev. James M. Chaney, D. D., originally from Ohio, came in 1857; and Rev. James A. Quarles, D. D., a Missourian by birth, whose distinguished career was lately (April 14th, 1907) terminated by his death at Lexington, Va., was abundant in labors.

Work in all the churches was blighted by the Civil war, and the workings of the iniquitous Drake constitution; the enactment of which instrument was a dark blot on the fair escutcheon of Missouri. It is hard to believe that fanaticism could carry men as far as its provisions operated. Under its conditions no minister could "teach, or preach, or solemnize marriages" without subscribing to the iniquitous test oath, which closed the lips of all ministers who **even manifested a desire** to say nothing of actually rendering aid or sympathy to those who were antagonistic to the "lawful authorities of the United States" for their success. In 1866 the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced the Drake Constitution in conflict witth the Constitution of the United States.

In 1866, the Rev. Joshua Barbee, whose continual ministry, length of usefulness, transcended any other ever in the county, began his long pastorate of Mt. Olive Church, and continued twenty-eight years.

In 1868, the Rev. Jahleel Woodbridge came from Kentucky and settled at Miami. His residence in Saline county was only about two years, when he went to Mississippi.

Since 1870 many ministers have come into the county, and there have been many successful pastorates.

Sixteen Presbyterian churches have been regularly organized in Saline county. Some of these, owing to local conditions, have been short lived; others have enjoyed long careers of usefulness. In order of the dates of their organization they are as follows:

SALINE CHURCH. Owing to joint ownership of the Church property with the Cumberland Presbyterians, also known as "UNION" Church. It was located in the eastern part of the county, and was organized by the Rev. B. F. Hoxsey, in 1832; and had eight charter members. The elders were Col. Benjamin Chambers and B. D. Harberson. The records of this Church have long since disappeared. The Church building was erected in 1844, and was dedicated by the Rev. David Coulter, D. D., and the Rev. P. G. Rea, of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. It was destroyed by fire in 1857, by a negro, to hide his larceny of the pulpit chairs which he coveted. After that, the Church seemed to have disintegrated, as there is no Presbyterian record of its dissolution.

Col. Benjamin Chambers, an elder in this Church, as noted above, was a remarkable man. His distinguished family was from Pennsylvania, his father being General James Chambers, a friend of General Washington, and who served with distinction in the Revolutionary war. The young son Benjamin enlisted, as aid to his father, at twelve years of age, and at the close of the war, at sixteen years, was a first lieutenant. He emigrated to the Northwest Territory; in 1803 was judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and lieutenant-colonel of militia. In 1820 he came to Missouri, and when in 1821, the state came into the Union, at the organization of Saline county he was appointed County Clerk, serving for fifteen years. The county records bear testimony to his culture and business capacity; and from an old note book, filled with memoranda in his own handwriting, and covering a period of fifteen years—now in the possession of his descendants—the character of the man is fully portrayed; that of piety, culture and force. He died August 27th, 1850, and is buried at Old Cambridge, Saline county, Mo.

ARROW ROCK CHURCH. Organized April 3d, 1840, by the Rev. Wm. Dickson, Rev. G. M. Crawford, and Rev. Benj. W. Reynolds. Dr. H. S. Venable was probably an elder at organization. It never had a building, and was never strong. After the war, its existence was feeble, and it was dissolved by Presbytery about 1876.

MARSHALL CHURCH. Organized by the Rev. Wm. Dickson, and the Rev. B. W. Reynolds, August 31st, 1840, with Hugh Hamilton, elder, and twelve charter members. The Church building was erected about 1855. The Civil war weakened the Church, and it was merged into Mt. Olive Church in 1867. In September, 1868, it was reorganized by the Rev. James A. Quarles, with J. H. Cardell and George Rehm as elders, and Samuel Davis (now Circuit Judge of the Fifteenth Judicial District of Missouri) and Francis Boozer, deacons. From this organization has grown the (at present) largest Church in the Presbytery of Lafayette. The present handsome stone building was completed in 1873.

MIAMI CHURCH. Organized in 1841 by the Rev. Gary Hickman, then the town of "Greenville," since changed to Miami. It is on the Missouri river in the north part of the county. Nothing is known of the membership. They had a building, which was afterwards sold. The Church disintegrated, and after the war, in 1868, was reorganized, with twelve members, by the Synodical evangelist, the Rev. Robert H. Hall, D. D. Robert Smith was chosen elder and James E. Kerr, deacon. The second Church building was destroyed by a cyclone in 1875, but they have now a handsome house of worship, erected in 1897.

PISGAH CHURCH. Organized (first as SALT POND church, the name afterwards being changed) on August 7th, 1845, by the Rev. Gary Hickman, with Thomas Parks and Anderson Fitzpatrick as elders, and twenty-two charter members. An interesting feature as indicated by the records, is the reception of servants (or slaves) into full communion of the Church. It is located in the western part of the county, and its career has been one of great usefulness. From the old records it is shown that it sent out several colonies, which finally sapped its life, as only four members remain alive today. The first building was erected in 1853, and the present one in 1883. Old Pisgah cemetery, a part of the Church grounds, is locally historic; where the remains of the dead of the neighborhood have been deposited for fifty years. A beautiful custom is the "Second Sunday in June Anniversary," when the old friends of the community, at home and abroad, assemble to worship and to keep alive old memories and associations.

MT. OLIVE CHURCH. Organized in 1853, by the Rev. J. L. Yantis, D. D., and the Rev. Gary Hickman; a historic Church with a long unbroken career of usefulness, and still vigorous. It is an irreparable loss that the early records were lost during the war, and that no data as to the early officers of the church are at hand, or reliably accessible. It is situated six miles south of Marshall, and never was a weak church. In 1866 the Rev. Joshua Barbee became its pastor and served continuously for twenty-eight years. The first house of worship was built in 1853, and was dedicated by the Rev. Nathan H. Hall, D. D., of Kentucky. The second building was erected in 1904. The property is owned jointly with the Cumberland Presbyterians, who have also had all these years, a vigorous organization, with the same name. The old Mt. Olive grave yard is a historic feature, inseparably connected with the history of the church.

SWEET SPRINGS CHURCH, (formerly Brownsville). Organized September 6th, 1868, by the Rev. James A. Quarles, and the Rev. Joshua Barbee, with eighteen members, and Corbin Vest and A. Havelin, elders, and E. S. West and W. D. Rembert, deacons. The first building was erected in 1872, jointly with the Methodists, and was dedicated in a joint service conducted by the Rev. J. L. Yantis, D. D., and Bishop E. M. Marvin, of the M. E. church, South. In 1887 the second house of worship was built by the church.

SALT SPRINGS CHURCH, (first named "Concord," afterwards changed). Organized by the Rev. James W. Clark and Elder Robert Taylor, June 6th, 1869; elders, J. C. Keithley, W. H. Wade, (afterward Congressman from the Springfield district) and C. K. Brandon, and J. W. Brown and Milton F. Seal, deacons. It is situated eight miles west of Marshall, and their church building was erected in 1872.

SALINE CHURCH, the second of the name in the county, was organized June 11th, 1870, by the Rev. Jahleel Woodbridge and the Rev. Joshua Barbee, with ten members, and John J. Snoddy elder. It is located six miles northwest of Marshall, and their building was erected in 1883.

NEW FRANKFORT CHURCH, in the northeast part of the county, was organized as a Cumberland Presbyterian church, but, upon application, was enrolled as a Presbyterian church April 20th, 1872. It was, upon request, dismissed to the German Evangelical Association April 15th, 1880.

MALTA BEND CHURCH. Organized May 16th, 1875, by the Rev. J. F. Bruner, and J. Wallace, W. H. Lunbeck and W. H. Squairs were the elders. Their house of worship was built in 1876.

LAYNESVILLE CHURCH. Organized in 1879, by the Rev. D. L. Lander. It was located in the (then) new town of Laynesville, in the northwest part of the county, in the Missouri river "bottoms." In one of its inexplicable moods, the river washed most of the town away, and the church followed in the wake of the town, and was dissolved by the Presbytery, September 29th, 1886.

BLACKBURN CHURCH. Organized October 26th, 1885, by the Rev. Joshua Barbee, and the Rev. L. P. Bowen, D. D., and elder Jas. B. White. There were twenty charter members, with James Alexander, elder, and John Edwards, deacon. Their church building was erected in 1889.

NELSON CHURCH. Organized January 11th, 1891, by the Rev. A. W. Milster, D. D., Synodical evangelist, with fifteen charter members; S. G. Hanley and J. L. Woodbridge, elders, and J. M. Allee, deacon. Their church building was erected the same year.

SLATER CHURCH. Organized by Synodical evangelist, the Rev. Xenophon Ryland in 1895. The work failed to reach permanent footing, and the church was dissolved by Presbytery in April, 1900.

MEMORIAL CHURCH, Napton, Mo. Organized September 1st, 1904, by the Rev. E. F. Abbott, the Rev. E. C. Gordon, D. D., the Rev. I. N. Clegg, and elder J. L. Woodbridge, with eighteen charter members; R. E. Richart, elder, and Philip M. Smith, deacon. The stone church edifice was built just prior to the organization of the church, and is one of the handsomest in the Presbytery of Lafayette.

Though numerically not so strong as some of the other churches, the Presbyterians have done their full share in the development of the religious life of Saline county. They possess the same characteristics of conservatism and force that distinguish them everywhere. Much might be said of the many strong men who have comprised the eldership, but want of space forbids.

J. L. WOODBRIDGE.

Marshall, Mo.
June, 1907.

HISTORIC LANDMARKS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.*

NO 3.

To the Old Settlers' Society of Jefferson County:

Your Committee on "OLD LANDMARKS" begs leave to make the following report:

In our report in September, 1899, several mistakes were made. In that report it was stated that Adam House was found dead in 1800 at the Big Springs, near the town of House's Springs, with his head cut off and a piece of maple sugar in his mouth, and nothing was said about the death of his son. Since then, the official report of the Spanish authorities of that murder has been found, which is in full as follows:

"I, Pierre Treget, commandant at Carondelet, pursuant to orders from Don Corlos Dehault Delassus, commandant at St. Louis, repaired to the Renault Forks, with the few militiamen I could assemble, in pursuit of the Indians; on reaching the place, I found an old man dead, head cut off, and laid at his side, scalp taken and body full of wounds from musket shots, and a few paces off, a boy eight or nine years old, head cut off and lying near him, face smeared with blood, with a small piece of maple sugar in his mouth, no wound in his body from either musket or knife. A dead cow, one horn carried off, dead calf, head cut off, beds in the house cut to pieces, utensils broken and strewed about the house.

Ascertained that the murder had been committed by the Osages; buried the bodies not known at the time.

CARONDELET, March 19, 1800.

PIERRE DE TREGET.."

"Renault's Forks, March 25.

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* Report of the Committee on Landmarks, Old Settlers' Association of Jefferson County, 1901.

I, Pascal Leon Cerre, Ensign of Militia, repaired to the above place by order of the governor, where I ascertained that the persons killed were Adam House and Jacob House, his son, from his son John, 14 years of age, who escaped, wounded by a musket shot; and finding no will in the house, ascertaining his disposition of his property, I appointed as witnesses to the inventory of his effects, John Cummins and Joshua Donald. I appointed as guardian of the minors, Bessy, John and Peggy House, Mr. Robert Owen, of Marais des Liards.

PASCAL L. CERRE.

Matthew Lord, James Craig, Andrew Park, John Johnson.
Robert Owen, Guardian.
James Gray, Adam Stroud, John Brown, Security.
Judathan Kendall, Thos. Williams,
Jno. Cummins and Jos'ha McDonald, WITNESSES.
Bart Harrington, Levi Thiel and John Jack, Appraisers."

This report is a translation of the original, taken from Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 298.

No mention is made in this report of the pursuit of the Indians by a company organized at what is now Kimmswick, and commanded by William Moss, the grandfather of James T. and T. B. Moss, though Judge J. G. Johnston informed the Chairman of your Committee that such a company was organized and was commanded by Mr. Moss. This fact was stated in our report in 1899.

PUBLIC ROADS.

Prior to 1839, there was no direct public road from St. Louis to Potosi, but up to that time the road between those points ran by the way of Herculaneum. The county seat of the county was removed from the latter place to Hillsboro about 1838, and in 1839 the legislature passed an act establishing a road from the Old Mines in Washington county, through which place the road leading from Herculaneum to Potosi then ran, by the way of Glenfinlas and Hillsboro, to intersect the road leading from St. Louis to Herculaneum at Joshua Herrington's old place, once known as the Paul Franklin place, and Calvin Johnson, Thomas Moss and Jacob H. Rambo were, by that act, appointed commissioners to locate and mark the road. When this road was opened, it became known, and is still known, as the State Road from St. Louis to Potosi, though the old route of this road from the stone house on Dry creek to Vivret's residence on Big river, has been almost wholly abandoned, as the routes of travel were radically changed in 1858 by the construction of the Iron Mountain Railroad.

It may be necessary for us to state, for the information of the present generation, that the Glenfinlas, mentioned in the Act of 1839, above referred to, was the name of a post-office kept at that time at the farm-house of Louis Balduc on Big river, which is now owned by the Harness family. That office was discontinued soon after the building of the railroad.

From 1839 to 1858, a regular hack-line, carrying the mails, was established from St. Louis to Potosi, and Glenfinlas was quite an important office on that mail and hack-route.

INDIAN GRAVEYARDS.

There is an Indian grave yard about one acre in extent, on United States Survey No. 395, lying between Belew's creek and Big river. The graves have never been examined, and it is not known what the mode of burial there was. The graves, however, are not in regular order, and seem to have been made without method.

There is another Indian Grave-yard on land now owned by the Schlect heirs, on Saline creek, in United States Survey No. 3011. There are at this place, on a bluff on the north side of Saline creek, three earth-mounds, near each other. The largest is now four or five feet high, and about two hundred feet in circumference. The other two are smaller. Human remains were found in these mounds, which are about one-fourth of a mile northeast of the salt-works, operated by Benio Vasquez, as early as 1775.

OLD CHURCHES.

Our rude forefathers first worshiped in groves or in private residences, and this mode of worship must have continued till long after the state was admitted into the Union in 1821. So far as we have been able to learn, the Baptists and the Methodists were the first to erect buildings for worship. The Baptists built a rude log-house for that purpose at an early day, on land the Spanish government granted to John Boli, on the headwaters of Saline creek, being in United States Survey No. 3127. That was in what was then known as the "Meramec Settlement," being not far from the point where John Hildebrand, the first settler in Jefferson county, located in 1774. This house has long since disappeared. The Baptists also, in 1836, built a log-house for worship on the western side of United States Survey No. 2018, on Sandy, in what was then known as the "Upper Sandy Settlement." Aaron Cook made a deed conveying one acre to the church for church purposes and a grave yard. This house has long since vanished. The congregation abandoned this building in 1840, and built a house lower down on Sandy, at or near the present site of their church.

OLD MILLS.

John Boli erected and operated a water gristmill nearly a hundred years ago at the mouth of Romine creek on United States Survey No. 664. This creek was once known as "Mill Creek," from the fact, no doubt, that this mill was situated on it. This mill has not existed within the memory of any one now living.

OLD FORTS.

In 1790 the settlers erected a rude fort on Saline creek, near the cabin of John Hildebrand, on United States Survey No. 3031, to protect themselves against the Indians. No vestiges of this fort now remain.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN L. THOMAS,
R. G. MORGAN.
Committee.

HISTORIC LANDMARKS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.*

NO. 4.

In previous reports we have made, we referred to the settlement of John Hildebrand on Saline creek, supposed to be the oldest settlement by white men in our county, but in searching for other old landmarks, we came across new facts in regard to Hildebrand, and we deem it proper to give them, even if we have to repeat some things that we have already reported on former occasions.

THE MERAMEC SETTLEMENT:

John Hildebrand was the first settler in the oldest settlement in the county. The Meramec Settlement extended from what is now Fenton to the mouth of the Meramec river. Other settlers came afterwards. On the west side of the Meramec were John Boli, Benito Vasquez, John Cummins, Jacques Clarmorgan, Antonio Soulard, John Carpenter, Levi Theel, John Seindre, alias John Sanders, John Romain, Christy Romain, James Stewart, Baptiste Raniller, August Gomache, Hardy Ware, and Jean Baptiste Gomache, and on the opposite side of that river were William Boli, Gabriel Cerre, Joachim Roy, Pierre Tarnot, who was called Lajoie, Charles Jones, Joseph Neybour, Phillis Boecarie, Baptiste Riviere and Sophia Shafer. All of these, the most of whom were Canadian-French, took up claims in this settlement under the Spanish government, having crossed over from the Illinois side.

We here present the concessions to Hildebrand and Vasquez, and the evidence on which their claims were confirmed to them by our government. These will give a clearer insight into the manners, customs, laws and religion of these times, than you could get in any other way. Though Hildebrand had settled on the land in 1774, the concession by the Spanish government was not issued to him for it till November 24th, 1779. That concession is as follows:

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* Report of the Committee on Landmarks, Old Settlers' Association, Jefferson County, Missouri, 1902.

"We, Don Fernando de Leyba, Captain in the Regiment of Louisiana, Commander in Chief and Lieutenant Governor, &c.

"On the demand of John Albrane, who has represented to us in his petition, that he had come over from the American side in order to fix his residence on this side and become a subject of His Catholic Majesty, provided we receive him as such; that he wished to cultivate the soil and form a permanent establishment, and supplicates us to grant to him a title of concession of eight arpents of land in width by forty arpents in length, situated at about four leagues from the mouth of the river Meramec on the right side of the said river in descending the stream and at half a league from the banks of said river. Through the said eight arpents in width passes a bayou or branch, which having run through the land of John Sanders, crosses this said tract from one end to the other. The two extremities of the said land run north and south and the two sides east and west; and having offered to take the oath of fidelity to His Catholic Majesty, and declaring that he was of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Religion, therefore after the said Albrane had sworn to be faithful to the King and to his government, we have granted and do grant to him in fee simple, as well as to his heirs or assigns, the eight arpents of land in width by forty arpents in length in all their extent of length and width such and according as they are designated in his said petition, which we have returned to him on condition to establish himself thereon and improve the said land in one year from this day under pain to have the same reunited to the King's domain, and regranted. And the said land to be liable to the public charges and others which it may please his Majesty to impose, forbidding all persons, of whatever rank they may be, to trouble the said John Albrane in his present grant and to cause him any damage, under pain of punishment. Given in St. Louis, November 24th, 1779.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA.

Truly translated. St. Louis, April 3d, 1833.

JULIUS DE MUN, T. B. C."

In evidence taken before the Board of Land Commissioners in 1806 and 1808, this claimant is sometimes called John Albrane and sometimes John Hildebrand, but the land was finally confirmed to him or his legal representatives under the name of John Hildebrand as No. 3013. The bayou or branch referred to in the concession is Saline creek. James Rankin, the father of James L. and Charles S. Rankin, surveyed his claim February 28th, 1806. John Albrane conveyed this land to Thomas Tyler, by deed dated November 22nd, 1788, and the latter conveyed the same to Jacques Clarmorgan by deed dated September 17th, 1791. Jacques Clarmorgan presented the claim for confirmation, and the following evidence was taken before the Board at St. Louis, July 30th, 1806:

"John Boli, being duly sworn, says that about 18 or 19 years ago, the time at which he arrived in this country, the aforesaid Thomas Tyler lived about one mile below the fork of a run on said land, and had then about 80 arpents of the same under fence, 40 of which were then planted in tobacco and corn and then considered the largest farm in the country; that he remained on it about six or seven years; that about two years after this, the witness' arrival, the settlers being obliged on account of the Indians to fortify themselves, they chose the middle of the settlement; in consequence of which the said Tyler moved up to the fork; that about four or five years afterwards he moved again and settled himself at about two miles from the aforesaid place, down the creek, towards the Saline, made a field and garden, built a house, and that the said tracts have been actually cultivated to this day, either by the said Tyler, for his use or for claimant's (Clarmorgan's) use by his agents, and that the said last tract was actually inhabited and cultivated prior to and on the first day of October, 1800."

In 1808, this evidence was given before the Board of Land Commissioners:

"Peter Chouteau, sworn, says that John Hildebrand inhabited and cultivated the land claimed in 1774, and that he found him still inhabiting and cultivating the same in 1780, when deponent, by order of the Lieutenant Governor went on the premises to warn said Hildebrand to abandon the same on account of Indian depredations. This order was obeyed by Hildebrand, as well as all the inhabitants of the Meramec."

BENITO VASQUEZ.

This settler was evidently a Spaniard, and took up a claim a league square, in the "Meramec Settlement," about 1784. The concession to him is as follows:

"Don Francisco Curzot, Lieutenant Colonel of Infantry by Brevet, Commander in Chief and Lieutenant Governor of the Western Post and District of Illinois:

"Having examined the memorial presented by Don Benito Vasquez, lieutenant in one of the companies of the militia of this town, I have granted and do grant to him in fee simple, for him, his heirs and others who may represent his right, one league square of land, in order that he may establish the stock farm (banqueria) he solicits, in the place called La Saline a Calolan, on the south side of the river Meramec (Barameca), at four leagues from its mouth, on condition to establish and improve the same in one year from this date; and on the contrary the said land to be reunited to the royal domain; and it shall be liable to public charges and others it may please his Majesty to impose.

Given in St. Louis of Illinois the 8th day of the month of September, 1784.

FRANCISCO CRUZOT.

Translated by Julius De Mun, March 28th, 1833.

The record shows this concession was made for a stock farm, (banqueria in Spanish) at another place called a rancheria. On the 26th day of September, 1785, Victoire, the wife of said Benito Vasquez, passed said land to Peter Chouteau. This transfer by the wife was ratified by Benito Vasquez by deed dated January 31st, 1805. Peter Chouteau conveyed the land by deed dated May 4th, 1804, to Charles Gratoit. The latter presented the claim for confirmation to the Board of Land Commissioners, August 29th, 1806, when this evidence was taken as to the settlement on the land:

"Louis Bouri, being duly sworn, saith that he has known the said tract of land established as a farm; that it was settled under Francisco Cruzot by the said Benito Vasquez, who made a park on the same; that there is on said tract a Salt spring distant from the said park about three arpents; that he was through said land at two different times; that the same was then actually inhabited and cultivated; saw a great number of cattle but could not say to whom they did belong.

"Hyacinthe St. Cyr, being duly sworn, said that he was on said tract of land about 21 years ago (1785); that the same was then actually inhabited and cultivated for the said Benito Vasquez, who then had salt works established at the aforesaid Salt Spring; and further, it was prior to and on the 1st day of October, 1800, actually inhabited and cultivated for the said Peter Chouteau.

"Peter Lajoy, sworn October 25th, 1808, says, that the claimant, (Charles Gratoit) made an establishment on the land about 12 years ago, when it was inhabited and cultivated for him and that the same had been inhabited and cultivated for him ever since.

Albert Tyson, duly sworn, March 13th, 1833, says that in 1800 or 1801, he saw ground fenced in and a large quantity of stock; that they were then making salt, and by appearances, had been making salt for some years prior to that time, and that the works continued in operation long afterwards, as said witness went occasionally on said place to procure salt.

"Charles Freman Delauriere, Deputy Surveyor, being duly sworn, says that in 1799, for the first time, he passed through said place and saw fields, furnaces, people at work, in fact it was a pretty large establishment; that he saw the same for several years in succession in operation and that the first time he saw said place it had all the appearances of having been settled several years prior to that time."

This claim was finally confirmed to Benito Vasquez, or his legal representatives as Survey No. 3011. This claim, however, covered the land settled by John Albrane, alias John Hildebrand, but Hildebrand held his claim.

It may be interesting to know that Charles Freman Delauriere, who was a witness in this case, obtained a concession of land of a league square, known as Survey No. 3022, which is the land known as the "Moran Claim" in the Richwoods, now occupied by Charles A. Stocking.

The "Meramec Settlement" in 1799, had a population of 115.

From these two concessions. and the evidence taken before the Board of Land Commissioners above quoted, these facts have been shown:

1. That the territory included in the "Meramec Settlement" was in the District of Illinois. There is no question that originally, a very large scope of country in this section, on both sides of the Mississippi, was called Illinois, after a tribe of Indians. In 1795, Antoine Soulard, was Surveyor General of "all districts of Illinois and New Madrid."

2. The word "arpents" instead of acres, was then in vogue. "Arpents" is a French word, and is about eighty-five hundredths of an acre. Hildebrand's concession contained 320 arpents, or 272 acres.

3. The concessions were without cost to the claimants, except, probably, fees for surveying, &c. These grants were homesteads.

In 1780 the inhabitants of "Meramec Settlements" were warned by Peter Chouteau to leave their homes on account of the Indians. This was the result of the attack in St. Louis, May 26th, 1780, by the English and Indians during our Revolutionary war, an account of which we gave in one of our former reports.

5. About 1787, the inhabitants of this settlement had to flee from their homes on account of the Indians.

JOHN L. THOMAS.

A FEW OF THE LEADING PEOPLE AND EVENTS OF EARLY MISSOURI HISTORY. *

Rev. James E. Welch.

The Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser published in Franklin, Missouri, in its issue of Sept. 2, 1820, states that the Rev. James E. Welch would preach in Franklin. Another issue of the same paper informs us that he was in Franklin in 1822. On March 3, 1828, a convention met in Jefferson City composed of those friendly to President Adams' administration. Among them we find the name of Joseph E. Brown, of St. Louis, chairman, with others present as Nathaniel Patten, of the Advertiser, Richard H. Woolfolk, of Lincoln, Marcus Williams, of Boone, Jonathan Ramsey, of Cole, Irvin Pitman, of Montgomery, Henry S. Geyer, Hamilton R. Gamble, John O'Fallon, of St. Louis, James E. Welch and others.

Mr. Welch resided in St. Louis before Missouri became a state. Some years later he went to New Jersey, returning to Missouri about 1846 and settling in Warren county, where I saw him in 1861. His son, Aikman Welch, was a member of the Legislature of Missouri in 1860 from Johnson county, and in 1861 he was a member of the Convention; and from 1862 to 1864 was Attorney General of Missouri and died while holding that office. The Rev. J. E. Welch's grandson, Aikman Welch, Jr., has been in business in St. Louis during recent years.

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* Read before the State Historical Society at its fifth annual meeting, February 8, 1906.

Lilburn W. Boggs.

Lilburn W. Boggs was cashier of a bank in St. Louis in 1817-1818. He soon after moved to Franklin where, for several years, he was engaged in the fur trade. In 1826 he was in business in Lexington, and in 1831 resided in Independence. In 1832 he was elected Lieutenant Governor of the state, and in 1836 was elected its Governor. He moved to California in 1846 and died there in 1860.

Hamilton R. Gamble.

In 1819 Hamilton R. Gamble began the practice of law in Franklin, Missouri, and was the first circuit attorney appointed for the district including Boone, Howard, etc. In 1822 he was captain of the Franklin guards. In 1823 he removed to St. Louis. Later in life he was judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri. In 1861 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention and died in 1864 while Governor of the state.

George C. Sibley

George C. Sibley was born in Massachusetts in 1782 and reared in North Carolina. His father was a surgeon in the Revolution and later resided at Natchitoches, Louisiana. George C. Sibley came to St. Louis soon after 1810, and was employed in the Indian Department, and from 1816 to 1825 was factor for the Government at Fort Osage. In 1825 and 1826 he was one of the commissioners to locate a road from Fort Osage to Santa Fe. The town of Sibley, Jackson county, was named after Major Sibley and was laid off on the site of Fort Osage. About 1830 Major Sibley and his wife started a female college at St. Charles, which they termed Lindenwood. From 1839 to 1842 Major Sibley was president of the Board of Public Improvements of the state. In 1870 E. M. Samuel and George C. Sibley ran for Congress on the Whig ticket and were defeated.

In 1823 Alphonzo Wetmore resided at Franklin. In

Alphonzo Wetmore.

1823 he was paymaster of the U. S. army. In 1823 he was trustee of Franklin Academy. In 1829 he wrote a letter to Senator Thomas H. Benton speaking of the great importance of the Santa Fe Trade. In 1837 he published a gazeteer of Missouri, a valuable book for the time.

John A. Ball.

Among the strong characters who are now but poorly remembered in Missouri I would mention the Rev. (or Colonel) John A. Ball. Colonel Ball was born in Virginia in 1773, and died in Lincoln county, Missouri, near the St. Charles line in 1849. Colonel Ball was a relative of General Washington and like him was tall, straight and fine looking, a strong forcible speaker and stern in his ideas of right. He lived in Lincoln county during his later years, about four miles from where the writer's father resided. His daughter married Governor Frederick Bates. Col. Ball commanded the U. S. troops at Fort McHenry near Baltimore in the war of 1812. He represented St. Louis in the first Legislature of 1820. In 1822 he was a member of the state senate from St. Louis. Afterwards he became a Presbyterian minister and in September 1829 he was Moderator of the Presbytery which met in Columbia. Although a preacher he was generally spoken of as Colonel Ball.

Recently I saw an old style mirror about three feet high which formerly belonged to Colonel Ball. When he died he left it to a relative, John H. Newby. It is now in the possession of his son, Dr. J. B. Newby, of St. Louis. At its upper part there is a representation of Washington's tomb with the inscription "G. Washington Ob. Dec. 14, 1799 Aetat 68." At each side a fringe of shrubbery is represented.

Gen. Duff Green.

General Duff Green was postmaster at Chariton in 1820 and was a member of the Constitutional Convention which met in St. Louis in that year to form a State Constitution. In 1821 he was a member of the House of Representatives from Howard county and during the session introduced the bill to establish Loan Offices in the state and to authorize the issue of $300,000 in loan office certificates. While a member he furnished the proceedings of the Legislature to the Boonslick Advertiser. In 1819 he was clerk of the court of Chariton county. In 1824 he edited the St. Louis Enquirer, and in 1826 he edited the Telegraph at Washington City. At first Green was a strong supporter of President Jackson, but in 1832 he made charges concerning the President and the management of the Government. In 1829 he was elected public printer. Through his paper he engaged in a bitter war with James Watson Webb, of the New York Courier and Enquirer. Later he went to Georgia and died at Dalton.

Henry T. Bingham.

Henry T. Bingham was one of the first settlers of Old Franklin, coming there from Augusta county, Virginia, in the fall of 1819. In 1820 he kept tavern at Franklin, and in 1821 he had a tobacco factory there. He was one of the first justices of the county court, was a Mason and was buried with Masonic honors. He died Dec. 26, 1823, aged 39 years. His wife, Mary, and John F. Ryland (afterwards judge) administered on the estate. George C. Bingham, the celebrated Missouri artist, was his son.

George C. Bingham.

George C. Bingham was born near Weiers' Cave, Augusta county, Virginia, March 20, 1811. After the death of Henry Bingham, Mrs. Bingham moved to a farm near Arrow Rock in Saline county, Missouri. Early in life Bingham exhibited a taste for drawing which improved as he reached years of maturity. In March, 1835, he had a portrait gallery on Guitar street, Columbia, Missouri. Between 1837 and 1840 he studied in Philadelphia at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. In 1840 he opened a studio in Washington City, where he remained for several years and painted portraits of our most distinguished men. Returning to Missouri in 1845 he was elected a member of the Legislature of 1846 and of 1848. Later he held two state offices at different times. But he devoted his best hours to illustrating on canvass the manners and incidents of the West. His most famous paintings include "Order No. 11," "The Jolly Flatboatman," "Stump Speaking," and fine portraits of well known persons. He spent some time abroad visiting European portrait galleries. He died in Kansas City, July 7, 1879.

Abiel Leonard.

In 1824 Hamilton R. Gamble moving to St. Louis resigned the office of circuit attorney and Abiel Leonard, then of Franklin, was appointed in his place. Later Leonard became Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri. Oct. 30, 1830, Leonard was married to Miss Jeanette Reeves, daughter of Lieutenant Governor Reeves. Judge Leonard's son was Major Reeves Leonard of General Odon Guitar's regiment, 1862. General Guitar married a daughter of Judge Leonard.

A. B. Chambers.

On October 19, 1835, the first number of the Salt River Journal was issued at Bowling Green, Missouri, by A. B. Chambers and Oliver Harris. On Nov. 9, 1833, A. B. Chambers was married in Lexington, Kentucky, to Mrs. Elizabeth Carr, late of Troy, Missouri. Mrs. Chambers was the mother of Alfred Carr, of St. Louis, and of Lucien Carr, who has been for some years past Curator of the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, Massachusetts. He is the author of a volume on the History of Missouri, also one on the Mounds of the Mississippi Valley. On May 24, 1834, A. B. Chambers was appointed circuit attorney for the Second Judicial District of Missouri, vice Ezra Hunt, resigned. Hunt was afterwards judge of that circuit, and in 1845 was a member of the Constitutional Convention of the state. Judge Hunt's second daughter married D. P. Dyer, who is at present Federal Judge at St. Louis. Judge Hunt's son, David, has been for some years an officer in the United States army, and a few years ago was Cadet Instructor of a school at Lexington, Missouri. He is now Lieutenant Colonel of the Third U. S.

cavalry. A. B. Chambers moved to St. Louis and at the time of his death was cheif editor of the Missouri Republican.

William B. Napton.

In July, 1834, William B. Napton, late of Virginia, became a citizen of Missouri, and for a while stopped in Columbia. He came from a Northern state to Virginia between 1830 and 1835, and began the study of law as a poor boy in Charlottesville, Virginia, where, I have been told, that in cold weather he would sometimes lie in bed because of no fire to warm by and no money to buy fuel. But Napton became one of the ablest jurists of Missouri.

Edward Bates

It has been a great pleasure to me to have been acquainted with one of the best known and most honorable citizens of Missouri. I feel that I was most happily rewarded in having personally known the family of Judge Edward Bates. While a boy in St. Charles county, I attended a private school at Judge Bates'. In the year 1855 I was quite sick at a hotel in St. Louis, and Mr. Bates had me brought to his house and there I was as carefully nursed by Mrs. Bates as I would have been by a mother. Mr. Bates' fifth son, born in 1842, is now the distinguished Major General John Bates, the head of the United States army. Edward Bates was of Quaker parentage, and born in Goochland county, Virginia in 1793. In 1813 he was a member of a volunteer company of the Virignia army. In 1814 he came to St. Louis. In 1819 he was attorney for the Northern District of Missouri. In 1820 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention. In 1820 and 1822 he was Attorney General of Missouri. In 1822, 1824 and 1834 Mr. Bates was a member of the House of Representatives of Missouri. In 1826 he was a member of Congress. In 1834 and 1836 he was a member of the State Senate. In 1834 he was President of the State Temperance association that met in Columbia. In 1850 President Fillmore tendered to him the position of Secretary of War but he declined it. In 1847 he was President of a River and Harbor Convention that met in Chicago. In 1853 he was Judge of the St. Louis Land Court. In 1856 he presided at the Whig National Convention that met in Baltimore. In 1860 the name of Mr. Bates was presented as a candidate for president, but Lincoln secured the nomination. From 1861 to 1864 he served as attorney general of the United States. He died in St. Louis March 25, 1869. Governor Frederick Bates was an elder brother of Edward Bates. Barton Bates, a son of Edward Bates, was Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri. Charles W. Bates, city attorney of St. Louis, is a grandson of Edward Bates.

It is of interest to remember that the female members of two families have married men who are prominent leading citizens of our country. I refer to the Coulters and Eastons.

Rufus Easton

Rufus Easton was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1774. In 1803-4 he was in Washington City. In 1804 he came to St. Louis and was appointed by the President a judge of the Territory of Upper Louisiana. From 1805 to 1814 he was postmaster of St. Louis, being the first to be appointed after the transfer. In 1814 and 1816 he was a delegate to Congress. In 1821 he was appointed by President Monroe attorney general of Missouri. He died at St. Charles in 1834. His wife was Miss Smith, of New York, and their eldest daughter, Mary, married George C. Sibley and in 1830 they started the school at St. Charles, afterwards so well known as Lindenwood College. Rufus Easton's second daughter, Jemima, married first Dr. P .Quarles. Her second husband was Henry S. Geyer, U. S. Senator. Louisa Easton married Archibald Gamble, brother of Governor Hamilton R. Gamble. Russella Easton married Thomas L. Anderson, member of Congress from Missouri. Alton R., son of Rufus Easton, commanded the St. Louis Legion of the Mexican War. He led a long and honorable life in St. Louis. Easton avenue was named after him.

Lindenwood Female College.

When Lindenwood College was started by Mrs. Sibley in 1830, Major Sibley gave twenty-nine acres of land near St. Charles for the site. The ground was covered with a fine growth of Linden trees, hence the name of the school, "Lindenwood Female College," which was applied to it in 1835. It was the first female college started in Missouri. It remained under the control of the St. Louis Presbytery until 1870. In 1853 it was formally incorporated as Lindenwood Female College. In 1870 the Synod of the Presbyterian church of Missouri took it in charge. Mrs. Sibley's influence was the mainstay of the college for the first twenty-five years of its existence. The board of directors under its organization in 1853 consisted of Archibald Gamble, Rev. Thomas Watson, Charles D. Drake, Charles F. Woodson, Achilles Broadhead (my father), Samuel S. Watson, Rev. Robert P. Farris, Rev. A. J. P. Anderson, Joseph Charless, John J. Johns, Rev. S. B. McPheeters, Samuel F. P. Anderson, Samuel B. Smith, T. G. Chiles, James A. Lyon and Joseph F. Fenton. Judge Samuel S. Watson was elected president of the board. In 1856 Major and Mrs. Sibley donated one hundred and twenty acres of ground to the college, and on the Fourth of July, 1856, the corner stone of the building was laid. Judge Samuel S. Watson gave $5000 towards the building and up to the time of his death was a liberal contributor to the College. The board of directors at the reorganization of the College were all elders and ministers of the Presbyterian church.

David Coalter

David Coalter, of Augusta county, Virginia, married Ann Carmichael, of South Carolina, and had two sons and five daughters. Their sons were John D. and Beverly Tucker. John D. Coalter married Miss Means, of South Carolina and settled in St. Charles, Missouri, where he became an influential attorney, and was three times elected to the Missouri Legislature, in 1836, 1838 and 1844. He died in St. Louis about

1862. Dr. Beverly Tucker Coalter settled in Pike county where he became a popular physician and married Mrs. McQueen.

Maria, daughter of David Coalter, married Hon. William C. Preston, U. S. Senator from South Carolina. Her sister, Catherine, married Judge Harper, of South Carolina, who was judge of the Court of Chancery of Missouri in 1821. But the Court was soon abolished and Judge Harper afterwards returned to South Carolina. Fannie Coalter, a sister of John D. Coalter, married Dr. Means, of South Carolina, who also resided for awhile in Missouri. Another sister, Caroline Coalter, married Governor Hamilton R. Gamble, of Missouri. Julia D., another sister, married Hon. Edward Bates. Jane Coalter, a sister of David Coalter, married John Naylor, who was long a well known and influential citizen of St. Charles county, Missouri.

Most of the Coalters with the Naylors and Bates and other relatives resided for a number of years on Dardenne Prairie, St. Charles county, and between 1820 and 1850 there was no better society in Missouri than that of Dardenne Prairie.

GARLAND C. BROADHEAD.

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE TROUBLES ON THE BORDER, 1859.

After the excitement on the Border in the summer of 1858, illustrated by the documents reprinted in the Review, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 198-225, there was comparative quiet until late in December, when the troubles broke out afresh. The difficulties in 1859 did not differ in character from the raids of the previous year, but have an added interest from the participation of the "notorius" John Brown.

Governor Stewart, in a message to the Legislature on January 6, 1859, (1) gave an excellent summary of the troubles to that date, and asked the Legislature for more liberal power to call out the militia. In response a bill was passed (approved February 24, 1859), (2) appropriating $30,000 to be placed at the disposal of the Governor to enable him to "suppress and bring to justice the banditti on the western border of the State, and to raise a sufficient force to protect the western border." Accompaning the message were several documents, (3) including two memorials of December, 1858, similar in content to No. III below, and a correspondence between Governor Stewart and the authorities at Washington. Governor Stewart appealed to President Buchanan, August 9, 1858, to send United States troops to the Border to avert all danger of sectional strife or civil war; the Secretary of War, Mr. Floyd, replied, September 9, 1858, that there were no troops available.

It has been deemed wiser, as these documents are partizan in character, to reprint them verbatim, in order to give all possible internal evidence as to the authors.

JONAS VILES.

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1. Senate Journal, 20th Assembly, pp. 59-60.
2. Session Acts, 20th Assembly, 1st Session, pp. 8-9.
3. Senate Journal, 20th Assembly, Appendix, pp. 78-80.

I—GOVERNOR STEWART TO GOVERNOR MEDARY.

(Copy) Executive Department,
Jefferson City, Mo., Dec. 31, 1858.

His Excellency,
Sam'l Medary,
Gov. of Kansas Territory:

Dear Sir: I have information of the recent invasion of Missouri by Montgomery and his band of marauders, residing in the Territory of Kansas, and have a dispatch from a gentleman at Kansas City, (1) suggesting that an officer be sent by the Executive of this State to the neighborhood, in Missouri, of Fort Scott, to take charge of any men under arms in Missouri, to aid in preventing the escape of Montgomery, and generally to cooperate with the Executive of Kansas Territory.

The attention of the General Assembly of this State, now in session, will at once be called to the matter, with a view to the utmost efficiency in the suppression of further outrages of a similar character, and for the purpose of bringing to justice those already guilty of a breach of the peace.

Meantime I desire to be informed specifically of your plan of operations, and for this purpose dispatch the bearer of this, Mr. JAMES Z. BELCH, for whom I bespeak your courtesies, and through whom I solicit from you the information desired.

Believe me, Sir,
Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) R. M. STEWART.

[Endorsed.]
Copy of
Letter to Sam. Medary
Gov. of Kansas Ter.
Dec. 31, 1858.

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1. Ben. I. Newson. Dispatch endorsed, Dispatch of Newson concerning Kansas Marauders. Dec. 31, 58.

II—GOVERNOR MEDARY TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Executive, Office
Lecompton, K. T. Janry 3rd 1859.

Hon. R. M. Stewart,
Gov. of Missouri:
Sir:

I received your dispatch by Telegraph, to Mr. Newson, today. I am under great obligations to you for your prompt action. I have ordered U. S. troops to that region in Kansas, and will organize such force of citizens of the Territory as I shall be able to arm, to act as Marshall's posse with the Troops. If you can keep your people on the line, they may be of the utmost importance to us, if Montgomery and his Banditti, attempt to escape in that direction, as well as to protect your citizens there from invasion.

I am informed that Montgomery intends to escape into Missouri if the force on this side is greater than he thinks safe to attack. Montgomery and Brown have three forts, one is very strong in the rocks. If we can get them into these Forts, or any one of them, we shall have them safe. Montgomery & Brown can bring into action from one to two hundred men, well armed and plenty of horses. Montgomery boasts that he can raise 500 men, but I doubt it very much. There are no infantry in the Territory at the Forts, and only two companies of cavalry—but plenty of cannon. These last are useless except to use against the Fortifications of Montgomery & Brown. We shall have to depend, therefore, mainly upon armed citizens if Montgomery is as strong as supposed. To raise these, here, without money and without any military organization is preplexing me very much, and we may in the end want all the aid we can get from every quarter. This is the worst side, but the side that may by possibility turn up, and it is well enough to be prepared for it. I hope to make so complete a work of it, that it will not want doing over again in that region.

Little did I think when I had the pleasure of making your acquaintance so recently, that I was about to meet so many difficulties as I have already encountered.

Very truly & respectfully,

S. MEDARY.

[Endorsed.]
Gov. S. Medary
Jan. 3, 1859.
about armed forces etc.

III—CAPTAIN MOONEY TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

West Point Bates County Mo
Jan 4th '59.

To the Hon. R. M. Stewart
Governor of Missouri

I feel it my bounden duty as one of your sovereign citizens to inform you first of the difficulties & invasions with which we the citizens of Bates and Vernon Counties Missouri are daily harrassed. you are no doubt before this fully apprised of the cold blooded & atrocious Murders and Robberies that have been committed in Vernon county some two or three week since—On last Thursday night December 30th a band of about fifty Murders and Robbers under the Lead of one Eli Snyder crossed the line from Linn county Kansas Territory and made an attack upon one of our most peaceable and worthy citizens Mr Jackson and Robbed and despoiled him of his property and goods to the amount of at least six thousand dollars, and finally burnt his House over the heads of himself and defenceless wife and children, who was only able to escape from the building through a current of smoke in time to save themselves from the burning ruins—again on the night of 3rd Jan 59 this town was attack by two or three attempts to set fire to buildings to attract our attention so that they could make a successful general attack upon us as they had at that time a large armed force within a mile of our town ready for the attack. They have been prowling around in the Territory not more than 3 or 4 miles from us ever since (and are at the present writing) threatening to break in upon us and Rob &

burn us out—after having suffered What we have already and in view of the certain impending danger we the citizens of this place & vicinity deemed advisable (from information we receved through the Messenger from Vernon county to your excellency) to raise officer & organize a company of one hundred men Rank and file for the protection of the lives and property of the citizens of our border & tender them to your Excellency for your acceptance into the service of the State, properly armed and Equipped—On yesterday our company was organized & officers Ellected, the names of the commissioned officers are as follows

Captain—James E. Mooney
1st Leut.—Alexander Spencer
2nd Leut.—Nathan Sears
3rd Leut.—Henry Feely

We would ask and beg your Excellency to consider and answer this communication at the earliest day practicable

Respect your obt. servt.
&c
JAMES E. MOONEY, Capt

P. S. We should be armed Equiped as cavalry as any other would be entirely ineficient.

J E M

P. S. I would beg to recommend to your consideration Dr. T. J. B. Rockwell to receive appointment of surgeon for the corpse to which we belong

J. E. MOONEY

We the citizens of West Point & vicinity do indorse the foregoing statements as substantially true and beg immediate assistance and recommend to the favorable consideration of your Excellency also the appointment Dr. T. J. B. Rockwell as surgeon

I A PIGG
ALEX FEELY
WM BOYER
A. H. SPENCER
T. J. B. ROCKWELL

P. S. We would refere you to Genl Payton Maj Goodlet

Maj Brisco Maj Edgar and Stone and Blanton members of the Senate and House.

I A PIGG &
others

[Endorsed.]
J. E. Money Capt'n
of Company, Vernon Co
Jan. — 1859.

IV—PETITION FROM VERNON COUNTY TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Vernon Co. Mo. March 28th, 1859.

To the Honr. Robt. A Stewart
Governor of the State of Missouri

Your petitioners Citizens of Vernon Co. Mo. residing in the immediate vicinity of the State line, would most respectfully represent that the parties who have heretofore infested the border from Kansas Territory are now assembling near the State line on the little Osage River organizing their forces commanded by Montgomery and others and your petitioners would further state they have the most reliable information that the notorius Brown has again made his appearance in the Territory, threatening to lay wast the whole country on the little Osage, and your petitioners have every reason to believe that it is the full intention of those lawless men to invade the State and rob and murder the inhabitants as they have heretofore done. Therefore your petitioners being fully satisfied of the avowed intention of those lawless men would most respectfully ask your Honr. to extend to us immediately such protection as in your judgment may seem best. Your petitioners would also recommend the Bearer of this petition Wm. B. Fail (1) as a Suitable person to carry out any measures you may think proper to adopt and he can explain more fully the situation of affairs on the border.

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(1) The letter is in Fail's handwriting

S. A. REESE WM B FAIL
(and 41 others.)
[Endorsed.]
Border War
Petition
April 1, 1859

V—INSTRUCTIONS TO ADJT. GEN. PARSONS.

Executive Department
Jefferson City, Mo., April 5, 1859.

G. A. Parsons,
Adjutant General of Mo.
Sir:

After a brief suspension of aggressive acts on the part of the bandits of Kansas, during which a general pardon has been granted for past offenses, so far as the authorities of that Territory are concerned—a clemency extended under the impression that such a course would secure order and quiet, I again have information from reliable sources, that the western border of this State, in Cass and Bates Counties, is threatened anew by a marauding band, organized or being organized, in the territory of Kansas, and that good reasons exist for believing that incursions into Missouri for the purpose of robbery, and perhaps, as before, of arson and murder, are intended thereby.

I, therefore, direct you to repair at once to the district of country exposed to such marauding incursions, and there to make such provision for repelling aggressions upon our soil and the rights of the citizens of this State, after ascertaining the present and probable dangers to be apprehended, as you may deem necessary, by causing military companies to be organized and armed, to the extent that arms are available, and by such other precautionary measures as the exigencies of the case demand. And as far as practicable, in your efforts or measures for the protection of the border, and in the accomplishment of the objects contemplated by the Act of the General Assembly, approved March 1859, hereto annexed, you will seek the cooperation of the authorities of Kansas Territory, in accordance with the second section of said act.

In whatever you may find it necessary to do in the accomplishment of the purposes mentioned, you will, as far as practicable, rely upon citizens of the counties exposed to danger, and upon those so exposed, and you will adopt the most economical measures, the efficiency of which can be relied upon in the achievment of the object desired.

You will also be careful to instruct all those having command of any force organized for the objects named, not to permit any aggressive act to be done by such force which which may justly tend to engender strife between the citizens of Kansas Territory and of this State.

[Endorsed.]
Copy of Instructions to Ad--Gen.
G. A. Parsons,
April 5, 1859.

VI—GOVERNOR STEWART TO GOVERNOR MEDARY.

Executive Department,
Jefferson City, Mo., April 8, 1859.

His Excellency,
S. Medary,
Gov. of Kansas.

Dear Sir: Having received information that citizens within the Territory of Kansas are again organizing with the apparent object, and the express intention of making marauding incursions into Missouri I have ordered Adj. Gen. G. A. Parsons to the border—Cass, Bates and Vernon Counties—with instructions ''there to make such provision for repelling aggressions upon our soil and the rights of the citizens of this State, after ascertaining the present and probable....etc—(copy of essential features of the instructions to Gen. Parsons.)

[Endorsed.]
Copy of Letter to
Gov. S. Medary.
April 8, 1859.

VII—GOVERNOR MEDARY TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Ex. Office
Le Compton, K. T. April 14, 1859.

His Excellency ;
R. M. Stewart,
Gov. of Missouri
Dear Sir:

Yours of the 8th inst. was received last night. As I had information up to the latest date from the counties in Kansas bordering upon Missouri, I was surprised at the tenor of your letter. I cannot think it possible that any such organization exists this side the line, as you seem to think from information communicated to you. I shall, however institute immediate enquiry into the matter, and if any such organization does exist it shall be dealt with in a summary manner. I cannot too highly appreciate your prudential course, and prompt action; and shall always be happy to unite with you in preserving order on the line, and in preserving also the lives and property of our citizens.

Very respectfully
Your obedient servant
S. MEDARY.

[Endorsed.]
Gov. S. Medary
in answer to letter
informing him that
Gen. Parsons had gone
to Line.
April 14, 1859.

VIII—CAPT. DOAK TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Head Quarters Mo Mi.—
Butler Bates Co Mo
Apl 21st 1859

His Excel R. M. Stewart
Comd. In Chf Mo Mi—
Sir

I have the honor to report that since I recd. the Apt as Capt Comp "B" Mo Mi—on the 13th Inst from you per hands of Adj't Gen G A Parsons, I have spent three or four days on the line between this State and Kansas T— I find along said line nothing of an exciting Nature or any thing that I think would justify me under my instructions to march with my Comp on the line—There is some fears however entertained by a number of men who are farming in thinly settled neighborhoods that a decent will be made on them by the Kansas Banditti—before any intimation of such a movement could reach them as it appears those thieving bands are frequently organized some twenty or twenty-five miles back from the line and our citizens would not be apprised of there approach untill arroused from there beds by an armed force at there doors Fearing Such an attack might be made I will move on the line with my Company in seven or eight days or as soon as I get the nessary arms and accoutrements for my men—if I find the fears of our citizens along the line continue—and there remain a week or ten days—or longer if there should any thing arrise that is threatening—On this matter however I would request some instructions—at an early a day as possible.

I would respectfully Suggest to your honor that some Fifty Stand of Muskets be turned over to the Citizens of West Point in this County to be distributed among the Citizens of that place

I would further respectfully suggest that arms suitable for the mounted force be sent forward soon—as the Muskets now at this place are not compleat with accoutrements &c which fact I suppose Mr McHenry has apprised you of—

I made the selection from my company on the 15th Inst of two men (John Weightman & W. L. Meek) for the Secret Service mentioned in your instructions—would have placed two more but found that I could get the nessary information without the additional expence &c

Hoping soon to hear from you I have
the honor to Subscribe myself
Yours Very Respectfully
WM. H. DOAK
Capt Co "B" Mo Mi—

[Endorsed.]
Capt Wm H Doak
Butler, Bates Co.

IX—CAPTAIN COVE TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Butler Mo
Aug. 16th 1859.

His Excel R. M. Stewart
Dear Sir

We are again about to have some trouble on our Border. The difficulty So far as I can learn is about as follows Some time Since one Wm Wright (alias Pickles) was by the Grand Jury of Vernon County Indicted in 2 several Indictment for **Murder** and **Robbery**—Wm. Wright (alias Pickles) was a citizen of Kansas and was caught at or near Fails Store on the line on or about the 6th Inst and was by the citizens arrested and delivered over to the Sheriff of Vernon County for Safe Keeping.

A number of reports having reached me immediately after the arrest of Pickles to the effect that the ciizens in Vernon Co in the neighborhood of Fails Store were threatened with violence by the outlaws of Kansas, I with two men left here on the evening of the 11th Inst—and reached Fails Store Early on the evening of the 12th I found 1st Lieut Barnes in comd. of "A" Co Mo Mi—during the temporary absence of Capt Wm B Fail—Mr Barnes could give me no certain information of any organized bands in the Territory but from the frequent reports & threats he deemed it nessary to organize the Comp and go into service so as to be prepared to repel an attack or invasion, if any attempt should be made in the State. There was considerable excitement among the citizens in the neighborhood of the arrest of Pickles, in regard to the many threats that was made to them by the people of the Territory.

When I lef Capt Fails Camp on the evening of the 12th Inst I did not think there would be any Serious difficulty as I could not learn that any of the prominent men of the Territory were taking any part in the matter, and returned home Satisfied that every thing would pass off quietly until I recd. about noon yesterday the Copy of a letter from the notorious J. Montgomery—a Copy of which I send you also a Copy of the one recd. from Capt M Cove &c

By Copy enclosed you will See that Capt J Montgomery "demands the immediate release of Pickles to his home in the Territory"

From the extent of the depridations we as people of the State of Missouri have already suffered from the lawless bands of Kansas rascals—I have come to this conclusion—That the first insult offered to the Citizens of this State by the people of Kansas—or an invasion I will repel invasion and meet out justice to them—and will cross the **line** at once to carry out this **plan**

I hope the above will meet with your **approbation,** if it should not you will please consider this as my **resignation** as **Capt Co "D" Mo Mi**

I learn from a private source today (but entirely reliable) that Capt Montgomery had an interview with some 5 or 6 Citizens of Vernon Co on the 14th Inst—near Fails Store—Capt M told the Citizens of Vernon that he would give them till next Sunday to act on the Subject of his note is, Wheather or not they would give up Pickles—

Yours Very Respectfuly

WM. H DOAK
Capt Co "B" Mo Mi

[Endorsed.]
Capt Wm. H Doak
about "Pickles"
Butler, Aug. 16, 1859.

(Copy) [Enclosure.]

Papinsville Bates County Mo
15 August 1859

Capt Doak
Dear Sir

Herewith enclosed I transmit to you a copy of James Montgomerys letter Sent to Capt Wm. B Fail on Saturday last this morning Lieut Barnes Sent an official Communication by the hands of Mr Peter Duncan informing me of an interview having been held with Montgomary yesterday, ending unsatisfactory, the people of the Territory demanding the immediate release of Pickles (alias Wright) Lieut Barnes and the people on the Border of our State demand protection to which they certainly are entitled. I am preparing to start with my Company as Soon as I can get ready—I would be obliged to you to send me by Lieut Gooden of my Comp a pair of bullet moulds to suit the arms we have recd from you also Pistols & Side Arms, if you have them, for I wish to go as well prepared as I can. The late News recd are authentic and can be relied on, and I believe a general turn out is necessary.

I as Dear Sir
Very Respt Your Obt svt
(Signed) JAMES M COVE
Capt Co "D" Mo Vol

(Copy) [Enclosure.]

Barnesville K. T.
Aug 13th 1859

Capt Fail
Sir

It is rumored here that there is an armed force in your vicinity. If this is so we would respectfully ask an explanation of the object for which they are assembled. At a meeting of Citizens this day held, it was resolved that the Kidnapping of Wm. Wright (alias Pickles) is an outrage, which we as Citizens of Kansas cannot tolerate and we therefore demand his immediate return to his home in the Territory

Respectfully Yours
(Signed) J MONTGOMERY
and many others

I certify that the above is a true copy of the one Sent me by Lieut Barnes Mo Vol

(Signed) JAMES M COVE
Capt Co "D" Mo Vol

X—PETITION FROM VERNON COUNTY TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

To his Excellency the Governor of the State of Missouri

The undersigned your petitioners residents of Vernon County would respectfully yet **earnestly** ask that you would **order one or more** of the Companys of Missouri Volunteers organized under an act of our last Legislature "for the protection of the Western border" to be stationed on the line of our State in this County **until** the Territory of Kansas **has** a **constitution** or you **are convinced** from an **unmistakeable source** that her people **has** and **will** obey some Law.

Our reasons are numerous. Your excellency is familiar with the troubles of our border previous to the adjournment of our last Legislature the effects of those troubles, and the Causes of our present danger. At the Spring Term of our Circuit Court 1859 Several bills of indictment were found against parties of this lawless **God forsaken** banditti of murderers—house burners—robbers and horse thieves One of that band was recently taken and is now in Jail when lo and behold Montgomery their leader threatens to invade the State if this man of half dozen or more aliases is not released or the men that took him and delivered him to the sheriff of our County are not given over to them to reak their Vengeance on.

Your petitioners would respectfully represent to your Honor that the Western border of our County is Sparsely populated hence the necessity of haveing a neuclus that if attacked we may know where to go to get assistance and to give the same to the many unprotected families of our County.

We have a Territory on the line of some thirty two miles and in that whole scope of country we do not number over a dozen families in from three to five miles of the line; and our county being so near the headquarters of this notorious band we earnestly believe our petition should be granted.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

R. A. BOUGHAN
(and 44 others)

[Endorsed.]

45 citizens of
Vernon ask to have
a Company stationed
on the line of that
county.
Papinsville, Aug. 25, '59.

SELECTIONS FROM THE MISSOURI INTELLIGENCER AND BOON'S LICK ADVERTISER.

The State Historical Society has probably the only file in existence of the above paper, of which the publication was commenced April 23, 1819, at Franklin, Missouri Territory, the first paper published in Missouri outside of St. Louis.

PROCLAMATION BY GOV. WM. CLARK.

Whereas, by the treaty with the Great and Little Osage Nations of Indians, entered into at Fort Clark, on the 10th of November, 1808, the said nation did cede and transfer to the United States, (together with other lands) all that portion of territory which they had previously to that time been in possession of, which should be found to be to the northward of the Missouri river; and whereas, the said claim and possession of the Great and Little Osage Nation northward of the Missouri, is now ascertained to have been immemorially bounded, as follows—to-wit: Beginning at a point opposite the mouth of the Kansas river, and running northwardly one hundred and forty miles, thence eastwardly, to the water of the river, An-ha-ha, which empties into the Mississippi; thence to a point on the left bank of the Missouri river, opposite the mouth of the Gasconade; thence up the river Missouri, with its meanders, to the beginning. The pretensions of other nations of Indians to lands lying within these limits being of very recent date, are utterly unsupported by those usages, and that possession and prescription, on which the original inhabitants of this country have been accustomed to found their territorial claims. In exercise, therefore, of that authority with which I am invested by the laws, I do hereby make known that all that portion of country northward of the Missouri river, acquired by the treaty of Fort Clark, the boundaries of which are set forth above, is hereby annexed to, and made a part of the county of St. Charles, for all purposes of civil government whatsoever; the proprietary, as well as sovereign rights to the same having been regularly acquired by the United States, by the treaty above mentioned. Of this annexation, all officers, civil and military, are requested to take due notice.

In testimony whereof, &c. Given, &c., at St. Louis, the 9th day of March, 1815.

WM. CLARK.

August 26, 1820.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, great and weighty matters, claiming the consideration of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, form an extraordinary occasion for convening them: I do, by these presents, appoint, Monday, the fourth day of June next, for their meeting at the town of St. Charles, the temporary seat of government for this state: Hereby requiring the respective Senators and Representatives then and there to assemble in General Assembly, in order to receive such communications as shall be made to them, and to consult and determine on such measures as in their wisdom may be deemed meet for the welfare of the state.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto affixed my private seal, (there being no seal of state yet provided).

Given under my hand at St. Charles, the twentieth day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, and of the independence of the State of Missouri, the first.

A. McNAIR.

By the Governor.
JOSHUA BARTON,
Secretary of State.

May 7, 1821.

NOTE.

This was the session that was called for the purpose of passing, and did pass, "A solemn public act, declaring the assent of this state to the fundamental condition contained in a resolution passed by the Congress of the United States, providing for the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union on a certain condition."

The Society has an original edition of the laws passed at this special session.—Editor.

LANDS AT PUBLIC AUCTION.

Will be offered for sale on the 4th day of May, next, at the taven in Cote sans Dessein, that well known confirmemd Spanish Grant, of 7056 arpens, on the Missouri, (through the center of which runs the river Aux Vassee).

This tract is laid off in quarter sections to suit purchasers. It is acknowledged to be the finest tract of land in that part of the country, as it respects soil, timber and local advantages.

At the mouth of the river Aux Vassee a town is laid off, called Mexico. The mouth of this river is the most central part of the territory, and bids fair to be selected for the seat of government when we shall become a state. **Its advantages over Cote Sans Dessein are numerous; the landing is much better, and the title is indisputable, &c., &c.**

Terms—One-third in **cash** or **negroes,** at a fair valuation; the balance in four equal payments, of one, two, three and four years, secured by mortgage.

Only one third of the above tract will be offered at Cote Sans Dessein; one third at St. Louis, and one third at Franklin—the time of sale at the two last places will be specified in a future advertisement.

RICH'D. R. VENABLES.

April 23, 1819.

The Steam Boat, Independence, Capt. Nelson, was advertised to start from St. Louis on the 15th inst. for Franklin

and Chariton, with freight and passengers, and may be daily expected.
May 21, 1819.

ARRIVAL OF THE STEAMBOAT.

With no ordinary sensations of pride and pleasure, we announce the arrival, this morning, at this place, of the elegant steam boat Independence, Capt. Nelson, in seven sailing days (but thirteen from the time of her departure) from St. Louis, with passengers, and a cargo of flour, whiskey, sugar, iron castings, &c., **being the first steam boat that ever attempted ascending the Missouri.** She was joyfully met by the inhabitants of Franklin, and saluted by the firing of cannon, which was returned by the Independence.

The grand **desideratum,** the important **fact** is now ascertained, **that steam boats can safely navigate the Missouri river.**

A respectable gentleman, a passenger in the Independence, who has, for a number of years, navigated the great precaution in keeping clear of sand bars, the Missouri may

Missourians may hail the era, from which to date the growing importance of this section of the country; when they view with what facility, (by the aid of **steam)** boats may ascend the turbulent waters of the Missouri to bring to this part of the country the articles requisite to its supply, and return laden with the various products of this fertile region. At no distant period may we see the industrious cultivator making his way as high as the **Yellow Stone,** and offering to the enterprising merchant and trader a surplus worthy of the fertile banks of the Missouri, yielding wealth to industry and enterprise.
May 28, 1819.

The next number, June 4, had an account of the dinner that was given by the citizens to the captain and passengers, with the toasts that were drank on that occasion.

DANIEL BOONE.

To the Editors of the Missouri Intelligencer:

Gentlemen:

In the eighteenth number of your paper I observe an extract from the "Albany Plough Boy," in which are contained these works: "What think you, reader, of a newspaper at Boon's Lick, in the wilds of Missouri, in 1819; where in 1809 there was not, we believe a civilized being excepting the eccentric character, who gave his name to the spot—who delighted in the dreary and awful solitude by which he was surrounded—and who has since traveled further into the wilderness, to avoid society, and enjoy his favorite life of a hunter."

Some months ago the good natured and sagacious editors circulated a story, invented, perhaps, by some waggish fellow, that Col. Daniel Boone, the person alluded to by the editor of the Plough Boy, the first explorer and settler of Kentucky, had died in the wilderness in the act of shooting a buffalo. In the mean time Col. B. was living in a populous settlement with his son, Major Nathan Boone, and quietly making ready for a crop of corn. It is not true that the person who draws on him so much of the attention of these editors, ever lived in the tract of country vulgarly called "Boon's Lick," or gave his name to it. About the year 1809 Col. Daniel Boone, Junior, and Major Nathan Boone, sons of the old Col. B. made salt at the springs now occupied by Messrs. Becknell & Morrison, and from these springs were called Boon's Lick, the whole tract of country comprehended in Cooper and Howard counties, extending on both sides of the Missouri from the mouth of the Osage to the western Indian boundary, a distancce of about 200 miles. Col. Daniel Boone, Sen., lives, and has for many years lived, near the Charette village, one hundred miles below Franklin, surrounded by his descendants to the fourth generation—Until two years past he was in the habit of hunting a few weeks in each year for amusement—the last attempt he made was in the latter end of the year 1816. He was attacked by a pleurisy at Loutre Lick, on his route to the hunting ground. That was the first time he had ever been obliged to have recourse to medical aid; he for a long time refused it. Doctor Hubbard, of St. Charles, accidently passed before the disease became fatal, and relieved him. Since that time he has lived at the place above named. It is most certain that Col. B. has many neighbors and sees much company. Many intelligent persons, who have visited him, have told the editor that few men are more interesting in conversation, or take more delight in it than this pretended **eccentric character.** The writer of this obtained most of his knowledge of Col. B's. life from his sons—he also once saw the Col., and during an hour he was in his company could discover nothing of the **eccentric savage,** either in his conversation or deportment. Perhaps it might be found upon inquiry that Col. B. left Kentucky to settle on the Missouri, because he had lost his lands there, and was unable or unwilling to buy more where land titles were so doubtful. TRUTH.

August 27, 1819.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

The Battle of Westport, by **Paul B. Jenkins.** (Kansas City, 1906. Pp. 193; pls. 24.)

The three days' battle at Gettysburg in the east, and the three days' battle near Kansas City in the west, were both in campaigns of invasion planned by the Confederate War Department for the purpose of severing the Union territory at the points of attack. The events of the former are well known, and Mr. Jenkins has performed a valuable service in putting in print the history of the western engagement, as this was not so well known or so well preserved as the former. Readers will be surprised to know that there was a larger number of troops engaged in this battle than in any other battle west of the Mississippi river. Wilson's Creek had fifteen thousand, Pea Ridge twenty-six thousand, and Westport twenty-nine thousand. Mr. Jenkins describes not only the engagement at Westport, but he also gives a full sketch of the life of General Price, of the campaign organized by him, of the engagements at the Little Blue, Independence, and the Big Blue. Indeed the most severe engagement of the series was that at the Big Blue where the brigades under Col. Philips, now Judge John F. Philips, Judge of the United States Court, Western District of Missouri, and Col. Winslow suffered the heaviest losses in officers and men. The brigades under Philips and two others drove the Confederates under Marmaduke back till the fighting under them and under Gen. Curtis was practically one battlefield; soon after the noon hour nearly thirty thousand men were engaged on a field between three and four miles square, and extending from the state line before Westport to about the southwest corner of Forest Hill cemetery. The Union forces gained the victory, and Price retreated south, followed by the Union forces far beyond the limits of the battlefield. F. A. S.

Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1906. Published by the **Illinois State Historical Society.** (Springeld, 1906. Pp. xvii, 437.)

The above transactions issued as Publication Number Eleven of the State Historical Library have just come to hand. The proceedings show an effort made to get an appropriation from the Legislature for a building for the joint use of the Society and the Library, similar to the plan adopted by Wisconsin, and advocated for Missouri before the two last Legislatures.

The report of the Secretary shows that the demand for the Transactions of the Society was such that the number of copies printed had been increased from 3,000 to 5,000. At the date of the report there were 328 active members; also three life members, ten honorary members and four auxiliary Historical Societies. The library of the Society had about 18,000 books and pamphlets, and some valuable files of old newspapers of the state .

One of the papers, "Libraries as Local History Centers," by Miss Caroline B. McIlvaine, librarian of the Chicago Historical Society, quotes a part of the preamble of the Constitution of the "Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois," organized in 1827, which is worth copying and the reader may substitute the name Missouri for Illinois:

"The undersigned citizens of Illinois, and others, sensible that there are now in existence, within this state, many interesting vestiges of its former population, that many important facts respecting its settlement by the present race of inhabitants are preserved only in tradition; that little is correctly known, even by ourselves, in relation to those points, and that the past and present character of our country, its soil, climate and productions, remain almost unnoticed by the naturalist and his train; and believing that these important relics of the past or monuments of the present time, are daily diminishing in number and value, have determined to establish an institution which shall afford a safe depository for all such documents, facts, and materials, as we shall be able to procure, and which may be properly classed among the evidences of history."

Quite a number of interesting papers are included making a volume creditable to the Historical Society of the state, a society only six years old, but one which the Legislature enables to accomplish work of real value to the state. F. A. S.

Balch Genealogica. By **Thomas Willing Balch.** (Philadalphia, 1907. 40 pp., 410 plates.)

The information in this handsomely printed book was collected by the author and his father during a period of sixty-two years, in this country and in England. It contains many plates of portraits of persons, buildings and objects connected with the family, an interesting one being a facsimile title page of a publication of two sermons by Rev. Stephen Bloomer Balch, printed in Georgetown in 1791, being the first publication printed in the District of Columbia.

The author is a member of the Philadelphia bar, the American Philosophical Society and the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. F. A. S.

Civil Government, Local, State and National. By **Isidor Loeb, L. L. D., Ph. D.,** Professor of Political Science and Public Law in the University of Missouri, and

The History of Missouri. By **Walter Williams,** Editor of "The Columbia Missouri Herald," and "The State of Missouri." (Carrollton, Missouri, Democrat Printing Company, c, 1907. Pp.274.)

Subjects and methods of instruction in our schools, public and private, undergo a species of evolution or change, and improvements in both are constantly being made. The son has quite a different school life from that of his father, and more so from that of his grandfather. Reforms or changes come not by general demand of those being taught, but by some progressive teacher advocating and practicing such change, drawing others to his support, till finally they are in the majority and compel the minority to follow.

The course of study of the "common schools" usually have been confined in the lower grades to the "three R's," and the matter of preparing the scholars for intelligent citizenship has been almost overlooked. Where the people do not take part in the government, it matters little whether they understand it or not, and for its stability it is perhaps better that they should not do so. But in a republic in which every man is a part of the government, and is a deciding factor for or against changes that may be proposed it is almost criminal negligence to allow the youth of the country to grow up without understanding the government of which he himself is a part.

The various churches have catechisms for the instruction of the children, and the doctrines of each are so impressed upon them that they rarely change their belief afterwards if the teaching of the catechism has been thorough, and the importance of this fact has been appreciated by the church authorities.

That similar work may be done in impressing the mind of the young in matters of state, Dr. Isidor Loeb has prepared a work on the principles and workings of government, for the use of the preparatory and country schools, that is worthy of high commendation. If every scholar in the state were compelled to learn so much of government as is contained in his "Civil Government," there would be a more intelligent use of the ballot with an appreciation of the fact of participation in government, and a greater effort to make that participation intelligent and for the general upbuilding.

Our summer schools which are attended by teachers should impress upon these teachers the importance of this subject, and every teacher without exception should teach the principles as found in this book, verbally and at odd times, if not as a regular class exercise.

The same volume is prepared as a text book on another subject that is almost as much neglected as the other—"The History of Missouri," which has been prepared for the same grade of scholars as the other subject, by Walter Williams, so well known as the editor of the "Missouri Book" distributed at the St. Louis World's Fair, and as editor of the Columbia

Herald, and also by his public addresses and weekly contribution to the Sunday Globe-Democrat. While Mr. Williams is not an old man and has not been personally identified with the public life of the state for a long period of time, yet he has been a prominent factor in the political, educational and commercial life of the state, and mingled with those of earlier days, so that he is well adapted to prepare a history of the state.

The book was printed by the Democrat Printing Company at Carrollton, and bound by J. W. Tate, of Moberly.

F. A. S.

NECROLOGY.

MARIE LOUISE DALTON was born in Wentzville, Missouri, April 1, 1869. She graduated from Lindenwood College, St. Charles, with honor, in 1887. About ten years ago she went to St. Louis, and was assistant editor of the Sunday Republic for some five years. Through her personal efforts with the members of the Missouri Legislature the "flag bill" was passed prohibiting its desecration by being used for advertising purposes, and also providing for the annual celebration of Flag Day. Her funeral took place on that day.

Miss Dalton was the active and very efficient librarian of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis, from the latter part of 1903, and increased very materially the collections of that society. She was a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the State Historian of that organization. She was also an officer in the Missouri Folk Lore Society. After a short illness Miss Dalton died June 13, 1907, from cerebral meningitis.

WALTER L. SHELDON was born in Rutland, Vermont, in 1858. In 1886 he organized the Ethical Society, of St. Louis, a society modeled after the Ethical Society of New York of which Prof. Felix Adler was the head. He died June 5, 1907, in St. Louis.

JUDGE CHAN P. TOWNSLEY was elected in 1866 from Sedalia to the twenty-fourth general assembly as a member from the 17th district. Afterwards he was elected judge of the Pettis county circuit court, and later moved to Great Bend, Kansas, where he was editor of the Great Bend Tribune. He died at that place August 2, 1907, aged 74 years.

His father, Channel P. Townsley, was a native of Massachusetts, and was one of the early settlers of Cooper county. In 1852 the father died while on his way home from China, and the family then moved to Pettis county, where the Judge lived until his removal to Kansas.

HON. A. J. HARLAN a member of the forty-second and forty-third congresses from Indiana, a member of the Indiana legislature for three terms, a member of the territorial legislature of Dakota in 1861, a candidate for lieutenant governor of Missouri in 1868, and a member of the Missouri house in 1864 from Andrew county, died at Savannah, Missouri, May 19, 1907, aged 92 years, 1 month and 20 days.

DR. JOHN W. TRADER was born in Zenia, Ohio, March 6, 1837, and came with his father, Rev. Moses Trader, to Missouri in 1840. He graduated at the Missouri Medical College, St. Louis, 1859. In 1862 he joined the Union army, and was made assistant surgeon in the First Cavalry regiment. In 1864 he was made brigade surgeon, the First brigade, General Pleasanton's cavalry corps, and later was mustered into the regular army as surgeon. After the war he practiced medicine for a time at Lexington, but since the beginning of 1867 resided in Sedalia, where he died May 15, 1907.

In 1876 and 1877 he was president of the State Medical Association, and has held positions of trust and honor in state, church and societies. Judge John F. Philips of Kansas City was a brother-in-law.

HON. T. W. GUY, born in Cincinnati, Ohio, educated as a physician, lived in St. Louis county in 1869, moved to Kimswick in 1877, served as probate judge of Jefferson county, and was a member of the house in the thirty-fourth general assembly in 1887 from that county. His grandmother on his father's side was a Rolfe, a direct descendant of John Rolfe, who married Pocahontas. He died at St. James, Mo., May 24, 1907, aged 76 years.

FATHER WALTER HENRY HILL was born near Lebanon, Kentucky, January 21, 1822, the fourteenth of seventeen children of his parents. He graduated from St. Mary's Jesuit College in 1843. He came to St. Louis in 1846 to study medicine in the St. Louis Medical College, but soon decided to study theology, and he was admitted to the Jesuit Novitiate near Florissant, Mo., February 3, 1847. In 1855 he took up his residence at the St. Louis University, and remained there five years; after completing his theological course, he was ordained to priesthood by Archbishop Kenrick, August 24, 1861. For four years he was president of St. Laviet College, Cincinnati, but returned to St. Louis in 1869. Until 1884 he delivered lectures to the graduating class in philosophy, during which time he published his Elements of Philosophy and Ethics, both of which have passed through many editions, and are in use in colleges as text books. He also published "The Historical Sketch of the St. Louis University" for its Golden Jubilee, June 24, 1879.

From 1884 to 1896 he was in Chicago, but an accidental injury to his eyesight caused his removal to St. Louis again, where he celebrated, February 3, 1907, the fiftieth anniversary of his entry into the Jesuit Order. From this time he resided in the St. Louis University till the time of his death, May 18, 1907. He was greatly endeared to all students, to those of his order, and all who were intimately acquainted with him.

LEWIS LAMKIN, said to have been the oldest editor in Missouri in continuous work, died at Lee's Summit, May 24, aged 75 years. He had been an editor 54 years at Gallatin and Lee's Summit.

NOTES.

Miss Idress Adaline Head, has been elected librarian of the Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis, to succeed Miss Dalton, who died lately. She is a native of Randolph county, has resided at Fayette for ten years, and at Cape Girardeau the past year where she is assistant in Mathematics and English in the Normal school and has also been assisting Louis Houck, who is compiling a history of Missouri. We welcome her to the historical work, and bespeak for her great success.

In the notice of the death of Col. John D. Crafton in the April Review we are informed that there were two mistakes. He was apointed Adjutant General of Missouri by Governor Woodson instead of Governor Hardin, and that he was not appointed to a consulship by President Cleveland.

The Kansas Historical Society advertises for donations of files of newspaper of that state prior to 1875, and is getting them. Among those lately received was a complete file of a paper of whose existence the Secretary did not know.

The Historical Society of this state is as anxious to obtain old files as the Kansas society is.

Hon. W. D. Steele, of Sedalia, spent Tuesday in Calhoun, his mission being to find the location of the grave of his great grandfather, Capt. William Baylis, who was a captain in Washington's army and was present at the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. This distinguished revolutionary soldier lies buried scarcely a mile from Calhoun on the farm where he lived in the early 40's and what is known as the Drake place, now owned by Isaac Houston and sons. Accompanied by the editor of the Clarion, Mr. Steele sought the aid of Y. P. Parks and found the spot, marked by a rough sand rock.—Calhoun Clarion, July 13, 1907.

The Missouri Historical Society Collections for October, 1906, was not issued in time for notice in our April number, though reference was made to advance copies of Thwaites' address on William Clark, contained in it. The other articles were of interest to all Missourians, and to historical students elsewhere.

Millard Fillmore Stipes, editor of the Gazette at Jamesport, Missouri, and a member of this Society is a well known historical writer. "Gleanings in Missouri History," 1904, "Radisson and Hennepin in the Mississippi Valley," 1906, a paper read before the Society at its fifth annual meeting, February 8, 1906, and "Fort Orleans on the Missouri," 1906, are some of his publications.

Mr. T. H. Jenkins, of Marble Hill, Missouri, has presented to the Society a copy of a booklet written by him giving the history of the first permanent Baptist church established west of the Mississippi river, Bethel church, one and one-half miles south of Jackson, Mo. It was organized July 19, 1806, and the history by Mr. Jenkins covers the time from that date to 1867. The society at this church has its official records from the time of its organization, and the history was largely taken from these records, and other facts were obtained from individuals and from published sources. Mr. Jenkins is to be highly commended for his historical work, and it is to be hoped that many others will prepare histories similar to his and to that by Mr. J. L. Woodbridge, of Marshall, in the present number of the Review.

Father John Rothensteiner, late of Fredericktown, Missouri, one of the active trustees of this society, has published a new poem, in a three-page folio, " 'Twas Their Ascension Day; A Legend of Santeran." He has become well know as a writer of prose and poetry. He has lately become pastor of a church in St. Louis.

The State Historical Society has lately made some changes in the rooms occupied by it to allow additional recitation rooms to be prepared for the University. It now has twelve rooms in the Academic building, and the most of them are already uncomfortably crowded.

MISSOURI STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY.

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A BRIEF ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF REFERENCE BOOKS FOR HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY.

Part II. Mediaeval and Modern History.

Adams, G. B., Civilization during the Middle Ages, Scribners.............. .. ..2.50
———, European History, Macmillan..................1.60
———, Growth of the French Nation, Macmillan........1.25

The first of these three works is a scholarly and suggestive discussion of the chief factors in the general development of Europe during the mediaeval period. The second is a good survey of the political, institutional, and social development of Europe, and the third is a special study of France of great value. All three should be in every high school library.

Archer and Kingsford, The Crusaders, "Story of the Nations," Putnams... ... ...1.50

Probably the best popular account of the Crusades.

Barry, The Papal Monarchy, "Story of the Nations," Putnams... ... ...1.50

An interesting and useful history of the Papacy as a temporal power. Written especially for young students.

Beazley, Prince Henry the Navigator, "Heroes of the Nations," Putnams... ... ...1.50

The life and work of the great Portugese prince of the fifteenth century. Valuable for the beginnings of Portugese exploration.

Bemont and Monod, Mediaeval Europe, 395-1270, Holt..1.60

A translation of one of the best brief histories of the Middle Ages yet written. In spite of some errors by the translator the work is one of the most serviceable reference books a school can have.

Bryce, The Holy Roman Empire, new ed., Macmillan.....1.50

This is the classic account of the Holy Roman Empire and though in parts somewhat advanced for young readers certain chapters are invaluable for giving a graphic picture of imperial history.

Duruy, History of the Middle Ages, Holt................1.60

———, History of Modern Times, Holt................1.60

———, History of France, ed., Jameson, Crowell........2.00

Three standard French texts in English translation. Though sometimes a little out of date Duruy's books are still of great value as reference works. They are especially strong on the factual side.

Emerton, Introduction to the Middle Ages, Ginn........1.10

———, Mediaeval Europe, Ginn.......................1.65

Emerton's "Introduction" is the best work of its kind and especially suitable for high schools. The "Mediaeval Europe" is somewhat more advanced and detailed but can be made good use of for special reports.

Epochs of Modern History, 10 vols. exclusive of those specially devoted to England, Longmans, Green....10.00

This set contains a series of excellent histories of special periods and covers the most important movements in European history.

Gibbins, History of Commerce in Europe, Macmillan.... .90

A good sketch of the growth of trade, commerce and industry.

Harding, Essentials in Mediaeval and Modern History, Amer. Book Co....... .. ..1.50

One of the best general surveys of mediaeval and modern times and valuable for a reference book as well as a text. Contains good bibliographies and topical questions.

Hassall, The French People, "Great Peoples Series," Appleton.. ....1.50

An excellent and readable account of French social and political development.

———, Louis XIV and the Zenith of the French Monarchy, "Story of the Nations," Putnams............1.50

A valuable reference book covering an important age in modern history.

Henderson, Historical Documents of the Middle Ages, Macmillan................................1.50

———, History of Germany during the Middle Ages, Macmillan................................2.60

———, Short History of Germany, 2 vols. in one, Macmillan................................4.00

A useful source collection for mediaeval history and two valuable secondary works of which the "Short History" is to be especially recommended for high school libraries.

Hodgkin, Charles the Great, "Foreign Statesmen," Macmillan................................ .75

———, Theodoric the Goth, "Heroes of the Nations," Putnams................................1.50

Biographies of two great Germanic leaders and statesmen by a scholar of note and standing. Useful for special studies.

Hume, M. A. S., The Spanish People, "Great Peoples Series," Appleton................................1.50

———, Philip II of Spain, "Foreign Statesman," Macmillan................................ .75

Mr. Hume has made a special study of Spain and her rulers and writes this general sketch and this biography of Philip II with great clearness and discrimination.

Jacobs, Martin Luther, "Heroes of the Reformation," Putnams................................1.50

A good popular biography of the great reformer, not too detailed.

Judson, Europe in the Nineteenth Century, Flood and Vincent................................1.25

A short general survey of nineteenth century history which presents the essential facts in a clear and connected manner.

Lodge, History of Modern Europe, Amer. Book Co......1.50

———, Richelieu, "Foreign Statesmen," Macmillan..... .75

The first of these two works is a full and generally accurate survey of European political history since the Renaissance and Reformation. It is useful for its details. The biography of Richelieu is good.

Lowell, F. C., Joan of Arc, Houghton, Mifflin..........2.00

The best brief life in English of the famous Maid of Orleans.

———, E. J., The Eve of the French Revolution, Houghton, Mifflin................................2.00

An interesting and valuable discussion of the pre-revolutionary state of France and the causes of the great outbreak of 1789.

Masson, Mediaeval France, "Story of the Nations," Putnams..1.50

Very useful for collateral reading. Many quotations from sources.

Mathews, the French Revolution, Longmans, Green.......1.25

A good popular survey of the causes and character of the French Revolution to the year 1795.

Motley, Life of Peter the Great, "English Classics," Maynard, Merrill.. .25

An excellent and readable sketch of the great Tsar.

Munro and Sellery, Mediaeval Civilization (Readings), Century Co...1.25

Useful selections from standard secondary works illustrating various aspects of mediaeval life and civilization.

Munro and Whitcomb, Mediaeval and Modern History, Appleton..1.50

Munro's excellent short history of the Middle Ages with Whitcomb's Modern Europe. Furnishes good reference reading and Whitcomb has some useful extracts from the sources.

Myers, The Middle Ages, Ginn..........................1.10

———, The Modern Age, Ginn.........................1.25

Two popular short histories covering mediaeval and modern times in an interesting way and furnishing good collateral reading.

Periods of European History, 8 vols., Macmillan........12.00

This series furnishes a detailed history of European politics from 476 A. D. to the close of the last century. Those contributing volumes are Oman, Tout, Lodge, Johnson, Wakeman, Hassall, Stephens and Phillips.

Putzger, Historischer School Atlas, Velhagen and Klassing (Leipsic).......................................1.00

The best small school atlas that has yet appeared for History students.

Robinson, History of Western Europe, Ginn............1.60

———, Readings in European History, 2 vols., Ginn......3.00

———, Same, abridged edition one vol., Ginn............1.50

Robinson's "Western Europe" forms a most useful reference work for high schools and the "Readings" furnish the best means for source study and illustration that we have. All high school libraries should have these books.

Schwill, History of Modern Europe, Scribners..........1.50

A good clear account of the main lines of European political history from the Renaissance to the present time. Less factional than Lodge.

Seignobos, The Feudal Regime, ed., by Dow, Holt........ .50

A useful discussion of the feudal duties and obligations taken from the section on Feudalism in Lavisse et Rambaud, "Histoire General."

———, Europe since 1814, trans. by MacVane, Holt......3.00

The standard one volume history of the nineteenth century.

Skrine, The Expansion of Russia, "Cambridge Historical Series," Macmillan......... .. ..1.50

A good account of the growth of the present Russian Empire.

Stille, Studies in Mediaeval History, Lippincott..........2.00

A series of interesting essays on mediaeval topics. Valuable.

Symonds, Short History of the Renaissance in Italy, ed. Pearson, Holt... ... ...1.75

An abridgement of Symonds' larger standard work. Particularly useful for the cultural side of the Renaissance.

Thatcher and McNeal, Source Book for Mediaeval History, Scribners... ... ...1.85

A comprehensive collection of the best sources for the Empire, the Church and the general civilization of the Middle Ages.

Thatcher and Schwill, Europe during the Middle Ages, Scribners... ... ...2.00

A popular general account of mediaeval Europe from the fall of the Roman Empire to the Renaissance. Useful for reference reading.

Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, University of Pennsylvania, 7 vols., Longmans, Gren.. ....10.50

This is a valuable and comprehensive series of source readings for mediaeval and modern history. They can be purchased separately or in volumes on related topics and fields.

West, Modern History, Allyn and Bacon................1.50

Though designed primarily as a high school text, this book makes an excellent reference work on account of good summaries of topics. It also contains excellent bibliographies.

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOLUME II.

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COLUMBIA, MO.
1908.

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HISTORICAL REVIEW.

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THE RETIREMENT OF THOMAS H. BENTON FROM THE SENATE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE. *

I.

The most conspicuous and significant events in the history of the dissensions in the Democratic party in Missouri during the decade 1844-54 appear to have sprung from the bitter personal and political hostility existing between Senator Thomas H. Benton and John C. Calhoun, and from the clash between the views held by each with respect to Congressional power and policy in regard to slavery in the Territories. These events for the greater part center about the retirement of Thomas H. Benton from the Senate of the United States, and the struggle to bring about his restoration. (1)

The causes of Senator Benton's retirement began to appear as early as 1844. (2) In the beginning, the principal causes were his attitude toward Mr. Calhoun and the policies

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* This article is a condensation of two chapters in a more extended work, entitled, "The Genesis of the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise," upon which the author is now engaged.

1. 4 Provinces and States, 108.

2. 4 Provinces and States, 84.

for which Mr. Calhoun stood, and especially his attitude toward the plans of the aggressive and radical pro-slavery element in the Missouri Democracy which derived its principles from the great Nullifier. (3) Since the time when Colonel Benton had defended and supported President Jackson in his policy toward Nullification in South Carolina, Mr. Calhoun and Senator Benton has been personal and political enemies. (4) With his characteristically fearless and energetic opposition, the latter had been conspicuously instrumental in defeating Mr. Calhoun's scheme for the "immediate" annexation of Texas by the treaty signed 12 April, 1844, and rejected by the Senate on the 12th of June in the same year. (5)

In retaliation, an active organization of the friends of Mr. Calhoun and the "immediate" annexation of Texas appeared in the state of Missouri when the time came round late in 1844 for Mr. Benton's fifth election. This movement had the support, so Colonel Benton claimed, of "every Calhoun man and every Calhoun newspaper in the state and in the United States." (6)

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3. In assigning the causes which led to Benton's retirement one must not overlook those repellent personal characteristics which no doubt played a considerable part in his overthrow. These, taken with his long residence in Washington which removed him from close and sympathetic contact with the younger generation of Missourians and from a first-hand knowledge of actual conditions in Missouri, probably had a great deal to do in undermining his power and in strengthening the arm of his enemies. A brief but excellent statement of these peculiarities of Benton is to be found in the work of his recent biographer, Roger's Life of Thomas Hart Benton, 228, 283, 297, 312-313, 315, 318; hereafter cited as Rogers' Benton.

4. "I am mortified to dwell upon Mr. Calhoun......He has been instigating attacks upon me for twenty years—ever since I stood by Jackson and the Union in the first war of nullification. His Duff Green Telegraph commenced upon me at the same time that it did upon Jackson, and for the same cause—because we stood by the Union." Benton's speech, Jefferson City, Mo., 26 May, 1849.

5. 2 Benton's View, 582 ff., especially 467. See also Benton's Jefferson City speech; 2 Stephens' The War Between the States, 242; Calhoun's Correspondence. (Report Amer. Hist. Assn., 1899) 633, 635, 636, 658.

6. "In the year 1844, as it will be remembered, when my fifth election was coming round, there was an organization against me in the State, supported by every Calhoun man, and every Calhoun newspaper in the State and in the United States. There was a co-incidence in their operations which showed that they worked by a pattern. I knew at the time where it all came from; and the source has since been authentically revealed to me...." Benton's Jefferson City speech.

Instructions alleged to have been inspired by Mr. Calhoun were sent to hundreds of newspapers over the country, intended for their guidance in the presidential and state elections and especially for Mr. Benton's own election. These instructions advised and urged attacks upon Benton by showing that he had allied himself with the Whigs on the Texas question. "Quote," said the instructions, "Jackson's letter on Texas, (7) where he denounces all those as traitors to the country who oppose the treaty. Apply it to Benton. Proclaim that Benton, by attacking Mr. Tyler and his friends, and driving them from the party, is aiding the election of Mr. Clay; and charge him with doing this to defeat Mr. Polk, and insure himself the succession in 1848; and claim that full justice be done the acts and motives of John Tyler by the leaders. Harp upon these strings...." (8). So far as Missouri was concerned it apears that the instructions were obeyed to the letter. (9)

This effort of Mr. Calhoun and his friends to discredit Colonel Benton by emphasizing his opposition to the annexation of Texas was probably the strongest move which could have been made at that time to undermine Benton's political supremacy in Missouri. An overwhelming majority of the people of that State ardently favored the acquisition of Texas. (10) The Legislature which met in December, 1844,

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7. Letter of Andrew Jackson to William B. Lewis, 28 Jan. 1844, in 4 Bulletin N. Y. Public Library, 308. (Sept., 1900.)

8. Quoted in Benton's Jefferson City speech.

9. "How well the instructions were obeyed was seen in this State, and in other States, and in all the presses and politicians which followed the lead of 'our leading friend of the South.' Benton-Clay-Whigs-Texas. Harp upon these strings, and harp they did until the strings were worn out; and then the harps were hung upon the willows." Benton's Jefferson City speech.

10. "The State of Missouri is more deeply interested in the annexation of Texas than any other State." Benton's remarks in the Senate, in presenting this memorial, 20 Jan., 1845; 14 Cong. Globe, 154-155. See also 2 Benton's View, 615; Carr's Missouri, 193-199, Calhoun's Correspondence, 633, 635, 636, 658, 954, 969, 1197, 1199. The people of Missouri were "for speedy annexation regardless of the smiles or frown of foreign nations;" letter of Andrew Jackson to B. F. Butler, 14 May, 1844, printed in 11 Am. Hist. Rev. 833. See also 67 Niles Register, 42 (21 Sept., 1844) quoting the Richmond Whig; 4 Provinces and States, Ch. IX.

Senator Atchison, then serving his first term in the Senate, warmly supported Mr. Calhoun's annexation scheme; 72 Niles Register, 278, quoting the Missouri Republican.

passed a memorial to Congress urging the annexation of Texas at the "earliest practicable moment." Before the final adoption of this memorial, the friends of Mr. Calhoun attempted to amend it so as to urge the "immediate annexation," but in this they failed. (11)

Despite these assaults upon his position respecting Texas, Colonel Benton was triumphantly re-elected to the Senate in January, 1845; and at the beginning of his fifth term he was without any question the most powerful man in Missouri politics. Prior to 1844 it had been supposed to be "political death for any man to even whisper a breath against 'Old Bullion,' the idol of Missouri." (12) The attacks upon him which appear in the campaign of that year had been inspired by parties outside the State. One effect seems to have been the encouragement of radical pro-slavery men and the enemies of Benton within the State to unite and form a more perfect organization—an organization having for one of its main purposes the overthrow of Senator Benton as the controlling factor in Missouri politics. (13) In addition to the ardent friends of Mr. Calhoun, these enemies comprised all those who for one reason or another had become restive and discontented under the political absolutism which for more than twenty years Colonel Benton had enjoyed. (14)

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11. As a rejoinder to this attempt, a set of resolutions, inspired by Colonel Benton and very well indicating his feeling toward Mr. Calhoun at this time, was offered as a substitute for the memorial finally adopted. They may be found in 67 Niles Register, 278, (4 Jan., 1845.)

12. From a statement by Judge William C. Price, an influential opponent of Benton, reported by William E. Connelley, Esq., of Topeka, Kansas. See also Meigs' Benton, 405 ff.

13. The following statement was reduced to writing by Roland Hughes, Esq., of Kansas City, Mo., and given to Mr. Connelley, to whom I am indebted for it: "General David R. Atchison told me, in a conversation at his house, under the shade of an oak tree in his front yard, about three years before his death (which occurred in 1886) these words, 'Claiborne F. Jackson, Trusten Polk, William C. Price and I, entered into a conspiracy to defeat and destroy Benton. We succeeded in defeating Benton, but by God, it retired Dave Atchison from public life.'" Unfortunately the statement gives no date for the formation of this "conspiracy," but there is good reason for thinking that it must have been in 1844 or 1845. See 4 Provinces and States, 84.

14. On Benton's political absolutism see Meigs' Life of Benton, 403, ff., especially 408-409.

Perhaps no individual at the beginning of the war upon Benton was more active and influential in uniting into a highly efficient political machine all those elements in the Missouri Democracy which were hostile, or inclined to be hostile, to Senator Benton than Judge William C. Price, a cousin of Sterling Price, the Confederate General. It appears that Judge Price was in close and constant communication with Mr. Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, John C. Breckenridge, Robert Tombs and Judah P. Benjamin; and that upon the subject of slavery he was a radical of the radicals. He was a man of an intensely religious nature, and a firm believer in the righteousness of slavery. The perpetuation and extension of the "peculiar institution" he sincerely believed to be indispensable to the welfare of Missouri and of the South. Missouri, he was convinced, could not long remain a slave State with Iowa free on the North, Illinois free on the East, and a free State on the West. Missouri must therefore contrive in some way to remove the chief obstacle to the extension of slavery westeward, namely the Missouri Compromise prohibition of slavery in the country west of that State. With the zeal of a fanatic, tempered by sound political discretion, Judge Price visited all parts of the State of Missouri, urging upon politicians the special interest which the slaveholders of the State had in bringing about in the near future the abrogation of the old Compromise inhibition. He even went so far as to suggest that abrogation to Senator Benton some time in the year 1844. Instantly and in his characteristically brusque manner, Colonel Benton repudiated and condemned the suggestion.

Chiefly because of his opposition to Mr. Calhoun's annexation treaty and for this condemnation of the suggested repeal of the Compromise, Senator Benton was from the year 1844 marked for political annihilation by the aggressive leaders of the South, and fought to the death by the radical slavery extension faction in the Missouri Democracy. Price and Benton had been warm friends to this time. They never spoke afterwards. Judge Price registered a vow to drive Benton from public life. In the presence of a large company gathered in a store on St. Louis street in Springfield, Missouri, he vowed he would fight Benton to the death. To make it more open and public, he wrote his determination on the walls of the store where it remained until the building was torn down after the Civil War. (15)

There is a lamentable lack of evidence disclosing the actual tactics employed by the Missouri radicals in the next three or four years. The lack may in part be fairly explained by the necessity, dictated by practical political considerations, of proceeding with more or less silence or secrecy until a strong organization could be effected.

So long as Benton's prestige in the State remained unimpaired, so long as the Federal patronage falling to the State was largely under his control, so long did he constitute the chief obstacle to the realization of the schemes of Mr. Calhoun's friends in Missouri. Until Benton's political power was destroyed it would manifestly be impracticable to openly assail the Missouri Compromise and make it a prominent issue; so for several years the repeal project does not appear on the surface, and the fight against Benton is conducted upon lines which apparently have little connection with the subject.

The next recorded event of importance in the present connection was the adoption by the Missouri Legislature, which met in December, 1846, of a set of resolutions declaring that "the peace, permanency and welfare of our nation depend upon the strict adherence to the letter and spirit" of the Missouri Compromise, and instructing the Senators, and requesting the Representatives, of the State in Congress to act "in accordance with the provisions and spirit" of the Compromise adjustment "in all questions which may

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15. To Mr. Connelley I am indebted for the facts given in the two last paragraphs in the text. Mr. Connelley was related by marriage to Judge Price, and was personally well acquainted with him. There is a brief biographical sketch of Judge Price in Mr. Connelley's The Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory 28.

come before them in relation to the organization of new Territories or States." (16)

It is not clear that these resolutions were designed as a challenge by Benton to his enemies and to those who were hostile to the Missouri Compromise restriction to come into the open and publicly join issue; nevertheless they seem to have had the effect of a challenge. At the same session of the General Assembly Claiborne F. Jackson, a prominent radical, introduced a counter set of resolutions into the Senate. The Legislature, however, was composed of a majority of Benton men, and Benton's opponents were unable to muster sufficient strength to carry these resolutions even through the House where they originated. (17)

So rapidly did the opponents of Benton and the radical pro-slavery element in Missouri coalesce that by the time the next General Assembly met in December, 1848, they had voting strength sufficient to bring about the adoption of substantially the same resolutions which had failed at the preceding session.

These resolutions henceforth figure in Missouri history as the "Jackson Resolutions." (18) Inasmuch as they were

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16. These resolutions were approved, 15 Feb., 1847, and are to be found in 28 Cong. Globe, II, 986, 1209 and 31 ibid, 557, 726; also in Benton's Jefferson City speech, 26 May, 1849. The resolutions were presented to the House by Williard P. Hall and to the Senate by Mr. Atchison, on 21 Dec., 1847, and 31 Jan., 1848, respectively; House Journal, 1st session, 30th Cong., 138, Senate Journal, 141. See also Switzler's Missouri, 269, and the Jefferson Inquirer, 17 Dec., 1853.

17. The Missouri Republican, 3 Dec., 1853. As yet I have been unable to find a copy of the C. F. Jackson resolutions of this session, but feel confident that they did not differ essentially from those which were adopted at the next session.

18. See Davis & Durrie's Missouri 141, Paxton's Annals of Platte County, 110 (hereafter cited as Paxton's Annals), Jefferson Inquirer, 11 June and 20 Aug., 1853; Missouri House Journal, 1848-49, Appendix, 219 ff. The real author of the resolutions appears to have been Judge W. B. Napton; Meigs' Benton, 410, 4 Provinces and States, 103, ff., and Benton's speech at Fayette, Mo., 1 Sept., 1849.

designed to "instruct Benton out of the Senate," (19) they deserve somewhat detailed consideration.

The first appearance of these Resolutions in the Legislature was marked by Colonel Benton, and their origin was known to him. He determined, however, to let them go on, being well aware that some new plot was "hatching" by the friends of Mr. Calhoun who, since the failure of their plot in 1844 had been in a "perpetual state of incubation." (20) He decided to let the plot "quit its shell." He was confident, he said, that if he had given a hint of what the plotters were doing, "it would have stopped the whole proceeding." But that would have done him no good, he claimed; "it would only have postponed and changed the form of the work." Accordingly he did nothing to "alarm the operators," and wrote not a word on the subject—"not a word to any of the three hundred members who would have blown the resolutions sky-high if they had known their origin and design," a design which, Benton asserted, was unknown to the majority of the Legislature. "I do not believe," he declared, "there exceeded half a dozen members in the two Houses, all told, who were in the secret either of the origin or design" of the Jackson Resolutions. "I am certain not six members of the body had the scienter of their origin or design, or meant harm to the country or myself." (21)

The Resolutions are too long to be quoted here in full. They denied the right of Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery "in the States, in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories." They declared that "the right to prohibit slavery in any Territory belongs exclusively to the

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19. Paxton's Annals, 113; Jefferson Inquirer, 20 Aug., 1853; Roger's Benton, 275-277. "The whole conception, concoction and passage of the resolutions was done upon conspiracy, perfected by fraud. It was a plot to get me out of the Senate and out of the way of the disunion plotters." Benton's speech at Fayette, 1 Sept., 1849.

20. Benton's speech at Jefferson City, 26 May, 1849; Meigs' Benton, 411.

21. The phrases quoted in this paragraph are from Benton's Jefferson City speech, 26 May, 1849.

people thereof, and can only be exercised by them in forming their Constitution for a State government or in their sovereign capacity as an independent State.'' They declared that any Act of Congress which prevented slaveholders from taking their slave property into the Territories was ''calculated to alienate one portion of the Union from **another,**'' and tended ''**ultimately to disunion;**'' (22) that in the event of the passage of any such Act by Congress, ''Missouri will be found in hearty cooperation with the Slaveholding States in such measures as may be deemed necessary for our mutual protection.....'' The Senators of the State in Congress were instructed, and the Representatives requested, to act in conformity to these Resolutions. (23)

Had it not been for Colonel Benton's subsequent extraordinary course in relation to these Resolutions, no more significance might have attached to them than to similar resolutions passed about the same time by the Legislatures of Florida, Virginia and South Carolina. But on the 9th day of May, 1849, Colonel Benton issued his famous ''Appeal'' to the people of Missouri from the legislative instructions. (24) ''If they confirm the instructions,'' said Benton, ''I shall give them an opportunity to find a Senator to carry their will into effect, as I cannot do anything to dissolve this Union, or to array one-half of it against the other.'' ''I do not admit the dissolution of the Union,'' Benton continued, ''to be a remedy to be prescribed by statesmen for the disease of the body politic any more than I admit death, or suicide to be a remedy for the disease of the natural body. Cure and not kill, is the only remedy which my mind can contemplate in either case....I appeal from these in-

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22. The italics are mine.

23. The Jackson Resolutions are printed in full in Switzler's Missouri, 265-266, Carr's Missouri, 223, Meigs' Benton, 409-410, 21 Cong. Globe, I, 97-98, 31 ibid, 726.

24. The "Appeal" took the form of a letter addressed to "The People of Missouri." It may be found in The Western Eagle (Cape Girardeau, Mo.) 11 May, 1849, copied from the St. Louis Union; also in 75 Niles Register, 332 (23 May, 1849).

structions to the people of Missouri—to the whole body of the people—and in due time will give my reasons for doing so....I shall abide the decision of the whole people and nothing less."

The "due time" for giving his reasons for thus appealing to the people soon arrived. On the 26th of May, 1849, in a speech of great length delivered in the hall of the House of Representatives at Jefferson City, Senator Benton denounced the Jackson Resolutions in the most unsparing terms, proclaiming Mr. Calhoun to be the real author, declaring that the Resolutions were aimed at himself and the stability of the Union, and reiterated his appeal from the action of the Legislature to the people to reverse the instructions embodied in the Resolutions. This speech, printed in pamphlet form and circulated over the State, and the vigorous canvass which Benton immediately inaugurated "set the State ablaze" (25) as had no other event in its previous history. (26) From this time until after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, the Jackson Resolutions and Benton's "Appeal" constituted the platforms or rallying points of the radical and conservative Democrats in Missouri who henceforth are usually denominated Bentonites and Anti-Bentonites.

In his Jefferson City speech, Benton affected to discern in the Jackson Resolutions the hand of his old enemy, Mr. Calhoun. The burden of his argument was to show the substantial identity of the Jackson Resolutions and the resolutions introduced into the Senate of the United States by Mr. Calhoun on the 19th day of February, 1847. If this identity could be established, Mr. Calhoun's well known hostility to Senator Benton, his doubtful loyalty to the Union, and the discredit cast upon his resolutions in the Senate would materially assist Senator Benton in the difficult task of justi-

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25. Switzler's Missouri, 269. Colonel Switzler was a contemporary Whig.

26. This Jefferson City speech may be found in pamphlet form in a bound volume of pamphlets in the Missouri Historical Library, St. Louis; in pamphlet form in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Library; also in 75 Niles Register, 390 ff., 397 ff.; (20 June, 1849).

fying, before a constituency which cherished the rights of instruction as something sacred, his formal appeal from the instructions of the General Assembly.

The Jackson Resolutions, Benton declared, were "a mere copy of the Calhoun resolutions offered in the Senate" and denounced by him at the time "as a firebrand, intended for electioneering and disunion purposes." The Calhoun resolutions were the "prototype" of those of the Missouri Legislature. He could (or would) see no difference in them "but in the time contemplated for the dissolution of the Union, Mr. Calhoun's tending '**directly**,' and those of Missouri, '**ultimately**' to the point. In other respects they are identical." The Calhoun resolutions were "the parents" of the Jackson Resolutions. "When the original is invalidated the copy is of no avail..... He (Mr. Calhoun) is the head mover and contriver." Not only was the authorship of both sets of resolutions identical, but the purpose of each was the same, namely, "to deny the right of Congress to prevent or prohibit slavery in Territories and to denounce a dissolution of the Union if it did. One was parent to the other, and I presume no man will deny it." The real design in the Resolutions, Benton asserted at another point in his speech, was to constitute "a pledge of the State to back Mr. Calhoun in his designs to put the State under his lead," and to stop Benton's "opposition to his mad career:" to understand the Resolutions and "to see their design, you must know," Calhoun's. (27) As one might, therefore, expect, the greater part of the speech takes the form of a violent attack upon Mr. Calhoun. (28)

From the fact that the Resolutions had been introduced into the Legislature early in the session and had lain "torpid until its end," not being acted upon until after the issuance

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27. At another point in this speech Benton said: the Jackson Resolutions "were copied from Mr. Calhoun; and to see their design you must know his. His were aimed at the Union......and at the members from the slaveholding States who would not follow his lead —myself, especially."

28. See Calhoun's letter of 23 June, 1849, to Andrew Pickens Calhoun in Calhoun's Correspondence. (Rep. Am. Hist. Assn., 1899) 768-769; and The Western Eagle, 3 Aug., 1849.

of the Calhoun Address and the adjournment of Congress, Senator Benton argued that they were not sincerely intended for the purpose of instructing him how to vote at Washington but were really intended to injure him in the summer campaign in Missouri. Then with all the energy he could summon, Benton hurled this anathema at the plotters:

"Between them and me, henceforth and forever, a high wall, and a deep ditch! and no communion, no compromise, no caucus with them....Wo to the judges, if any such there are in this work! The children of Israel could not stand the government of Judges; nor can we...." (29)

Considering that the proposition with which he commenced his speech had been made good, namely, that the Missouri Resolutions were copied from those of Mr. Calhoun, and that to understand their design one must understand his, and that "from the words of his own resolution and from his conduct twenty years past, the subversion of the Union is intended"—Senator Benton declared in conclusion:

"In the execution of this design I cannot be an instrument, nor can I believe that the people, or the mass of the General Assembly wish it; and I deem it right to have a full understanding with my constituents on the whole matter.

"I therefore appeal from the instructions I have received, because they are in conflict with instructions already received and obeyed (30)—because they did not emanate from any known desire, or understood will, of the people—because they contain unconstitutional expositions of the Constitution which I am sworn to support—because they require me to promote disunion—because they are copied from resolutions hatched for great mischief, which I have a right to oppose, and did oppose in my place as Senator in the Senate of the United States, and which I cannot cease to oppose without personal disgrace and official dereliction of public duty—

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29. The last sentence was probably directed against Judge Price, Judge Napton, Judge James H. Birch, one of the most bitter of Benton's enemies, and Senator Atchison, who, before his election to the Senate, had held a judgeship.

30. Referring to the Resolutions passed on the 15th of February, 1847, already summarized.

and because I think it due to the people to give them an opportunity to consider proceedings so gravely affecting them, and on which they have not been consulted.

"I appeal to the people—and the whole body of the people. It is a question above party, and should be kept above it. I mean to keep it there." (31)

His appeal from the legislative instructions Senator Benton immediately followed up with a canvass of the State conducted with his characteristic energy and aggressiveness. Over the entire State he went, even invading the western counties where his enemeis were most numerous and most desperate. (32) On at least one occasion the vehemence of his personal denunciation of one sitting before him threatened serious disorder. (33)

Benton's speeches on this tour of the State were in the main substantially repetitions of arguments and allegations appearing in the Jefferson City speech. In all places his opinions were expressed in language most unrestrained, and as the canvass progressed his utterances became more and more polemical and bitter. There lurked in the Jackson Resolutions, he reiterated, "the spirit of nullification," of "insubordination to law," and of "treason." (34) Again and again he denounced them as "entertaining the covert purpose of disrupting the national Union and of misleading the people of Missouri into cooperation with the Slave-

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31. See an editorial review of Benton's Jefferson City speech in The Western Eagle (Whig) 1 June, 1849.

32. The itinerary of Senator Benton on this canvass, so far as I have been able to discover it, was as follows: On June 9th he spoke at Columbia; June 16th at Liberty; June 18th, at Platte City; July 16th, at Liberty; August 9th, at St. Joseph; Sept. 1st, at Fayette; October 17th, at St. Louis; November 5th, at Ste. Genevieve; November 6th, at Perryville; and November 7th, at Jackson.

33. At Platte City, 18 June, 1849. William M. Paxton, Esq., was present and describes what took place in his Annals, pp. 117. See also Benton's speech at Fayette, 1 Sept., 1849.

34. "The Resolutions, taken altogether, are false in their facts, incendiary in their temper, disunion in their object, nullification in their essence, high treason in their remedy, and usurpation in their character...." Benton at Fayette, 1 Sept., 1849.

holding States for that purpose." (35) Not content with condemning the Resolutions themselves, Benton assailed their authors with the bitterest diatribe and most vehement castigation, (36) mingled and interspersed liberally with profanity—in all of which arts of the western stump orator Benton was past master. As the natural result of this pouring out the vials of wrath upon his enemies, Senator Benton succeeded in stirring popular feeling most profoundly.

P. O. RAY.

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35. Switzler's Missouri, 269; Carr's Missouri, 225, ff.; Meigs' Benton, 413.

36. For a good example, see the closing remarks of Benton's Fayette speech. On his speech at St. Louis on 17 Oct., see the comment of The Western Eagle, 26 Oct., 1849.

HISTORIC LANDMARKS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.*

NO. 5.

HISTORY OF VICTORIA.

The unveiling of this monument today is to commemorate a heroic act. Every pioneer is a hero, because it takes the qualities of a strong and brave heart to quit home and friends and society and go out into uninhabited wilds, to blaze the way for the coming civilization.

In 1802, one hundred and two years ago, Mr. Thomas L. Bevis, a native of Georgia, went forward into a trackless forest, for there was then no road, not even a cow path, this far up the Joachim, and felled the first tree to make the first settlement, and found the first home on the land where Victoria now stands. Charles IV, a weak and profligate prince, was king of Spain, and Charles Dehault DeLassus was lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana, with headquarters at St. Louis, a village of a few hundred inhabitants. Spain had dominion, and her laws prevailed here then; but she was liberal towards the pioneers; she offered them free homesteads simply for settling and living on them. Mr. Bevis was one who came to take advantage of this generous offer, and built his home near where the old C. W. S. Vinyard homestead now stands, on the other side of the creek.

But little is known of this old settler, but it is presumed he was a blacksmith, although on a small scale, for there was mentioned by his administrator, among his assets, a broken set of blacksmith tools. He probably had a wife and children when he first came to this land. We infer this from the confirmation of the land to him. In 1810 one hundred acres only were confirmed to him out of his whole claim of 640 acres. This was done no doubt upon the ground that he was then unable to prove his marriage and the birth of legitimate children, one hundred acres being the amount single men could acquire; but afterwards the government confirmed to him the whole of his claim, except what was covered by Walter DeWitt's claim, the total confirmed to Bevis being 598 arpens, equal to 505 acres, and no doubt on the second hearing he was able to prove his marriage, and the birth of his children, or he could not have obtained so large a bounty. He died on this land in 1826, leaving a widow and two sons, William and Thomas, and two daughters, Rebecca, who married William Phillips, and Mary, who married James Dodson. William is a rich man, now living in Kansas. Thomas is dead. Mrs. Phillips lives in Illinois and Mrs. Dodson was killed a few days ago at Bonne Terre by the railroad. Mr. Bevis' wife's given name was Prudence, and her maiden name, Maurs. She had ten sisters and one brother. Two of her sisters, Mrs. Eli Wiley and Mrs. Rodgers, came to this country to live. It is not positively known where the body of the elder Bevis was buried; Doc McKee is of the opinion that he was buried in the Arch Lee graveyard, on land now owned by Mr. Frank Vaughn, while Charles McKee says he heard he was buried on his own farm in the bottom just above his house, and if he is right the grave is in a corn field and is plowed over every season it is cultivated.

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* Report of the Committee on Landmarks, Old Settlers' Association, Jefferson County, Missouri, 1903, in an address to the Association by Judge Thomas.

Mrs. Prudence Bevis, who was of Irish descent and a native of Illinois, became a great historic character in those parts in her day. The history of Jefferson county will be incomplete without a biography of this remarkable woman, and of the influence she exercised over the people. It is said that she could not produce the record of her marriage to Bevis when the right to her share of the estate was contested after his death, but she might have been his lawful wife, and no record ever made of it. There was, a hundred years ago, no place to record anything any nearer than St. Louis, and that a marriage certificate was not recorded would excite no surprise. She and Bevis lived together as husband and wife and raised a family of children, and I doubt not they were lawfully married to each other, and the fact of the confirmation of so large a tract of land as above noted, corroborates this conclusion.

A biography of Prudence Bevis will give you a clear insight into the beliefs, folk-lore and manners of the people sixty and seventy years ago. This woman was known everywhere as "Queen Bevers, the witch." How she got the cognomen "Queen," I could not learn, but is evident the people corrupted the name Bevis to "Bevers." From the time of her husband's death in 1826 to about 1854 she was a terror to the people of this county. I am informed by persons who knew her well during that period that an overwhelming majority of the people really believed in witchcraft, and that she was a veritable witch. In the immediate neighborhood where she lived, which was never far from Victoria, every ailment or misfortune happening to man or beast was traced to her malign influence. Cows gave bloody milk, guns failed to hit a deer, though true in every other respect; the people were sick with various diseases, and oftentimes would have hair balls in the flesh. These, and many other abnormal conditions were by the people laid at the door of "Queen Bevers." What could be done to counteract this baneful influence? The people did not do as the people of Salem, Mass., and of England did two hundred years ago—hang the supposed witch—but they sought a remedy for the evils that were supposed to be inflicted on the community by her, and this remedy was found partially in Henry H. Jones, who lived on Buck creek, and who was universally recognized as a witch charmer, and resort to him was had to break the spell brought about by her.

A few instances of witchery by her, and the interposition of Mr. Jones to break the charm will give you a clear idea of the trend of this superstition at the period named. I give names because it is proper to preserve the history of the times as it really existed.

A man in the neighborhood had a gun that he claimed would not kill a deer, though it was true in every other respect. He went to the witch charmer, Mr. Jones, who was a blacksmith and gunsmith, and Jones inquired into the matter, and finding that "Queen Bevers" had a motive for preventing this man from killing deer, attributed the defect in the gun to her cunning craft. To break her power over the gun, he made a paper likeness of Mrs. Bevis, and fired a silver ball through it, and very soon after Mrs. Bevis was laid up with a sore limb, and the gun was restored to its original deer-killing quality.

Rev. Sullivan Frazier told me that it was commonly reported that if an awl be stuck in the chair where a witch sits her power would be overcome, and she would be unable to rise up; so on one occasion when Mrs. Bevis visited his father when he was a mere lad, he crept behind her and stuck an awl in one of the legs of the chair in which she sat, but the charm on that occasion failed to work, and she arose with ease when the time came for her to go.

Mrs. Sullivan Frazier, who was a Lanham, says that about 1842 Mrs. Bevis visited her home. At the time her mother had seven or eight cows, and Mrs. Bevis wanted to buy one of them and picked out the one she wanted, but Mrs. Lanham would not sell that one. Next morning the cow jumped the fence and ran away, and it took the boys half a day to bring her back, and she gave bloody milk and was of no account after that.

A family of girls in the neighborhood took sick with a strange disease, and their sickness was attributed to "Queen Bevers." Sullivan Frazier's father, Joseph Frazier, was dispatched to one of the lower counties of this State for a witch doctor. He came and found a hair ball in a boil on the limb of one of the girls, and forthwith the disease was pronounced the work of a witch, and the remedy to break the charm was used and the family recovered. Why Jones was not called in on this occasion is not known.

Zack Borum had a child that was sick, and he sent for Henry H. Jones. He came and diagnosed the case as the result of the witchcraft of Mrs. Bevis. He took a vial and put a liquid and some needles in it and hung it in the chimney. In a short time Mrs. Bevis took sick, but the child died anyhow. Mr. Borum gave Jones a side of bacon for his services in this case.

But the most remarkable instance is that told by Aaron Cook, who formerly lived near Hillsboro. He always insisted that "Queen Bevers" turned him into a horse and rode him to a ball at Meredith Wideman's across the river from Morse's Mills, hitched him to a plum bush, and left him there all night.

It would fill a volume to recount all the stories afloat about this remarkable woman. The instances of her supposed witchery given here are sufficient to show how the people regarded her. She was said to be a remarkably fine looking woman, which is contrary to our pre-conceived notion of a witch. We always picture a witch as an uncouth looking old hag. Mrs. Bevis was often told that the people regarded her as a witch and she would merely laugh at the accusation. She moved to St. Louis about 1856, and Mr. Frazier tells me that she lost her reputation as a witch in her later life. She died about 1858 or 1859.

During former days in this settlement, there was a common belief that witches made knots in horses manes in order to ride them, and these knots to this day are known as "witches' stirrups."

Another well authenticated case of the power of witchery is the case of Francis Wideman, who built the first grist mill in this county, which was about three-quarters of a mile from the site, of Morse's Mill. His brother, John wanted to grind a little corn for himself after night, Francis granted his request, but cautioned him to keep a sharp lookout for "Old Nick." John went and set the mill to going, and all at once the stones went with such velocity that John got scared, shut off the water and ran away without his grist, and reported to the neighbors as a fact that his brother had conjured up the Devil and made him interfere with the mill so he could not grind. This incident antedated the frenzy about "Queen Bevers" many years.

I have given you the biography of "Queen Bevers" because she was here over a hundred years ago to help her husband in the founding of a home in these western wilds, and because of the superstitious beliefs of the people in regard to her. Settlers had advanced up the Joachim to Hematite and beyond, and Bevis and his wife advanced one step further west and made their home here. How they reached the place of their abode I do not know, but we all know there were no steamboats, no railroads and no wagons. How Bevis and his family penetrated this primeval forest to build a home we have to surmise only. The probability is that he walked and his wife and children came horseback, or on a sled made by himself. His house was probably built, and his furniture made by himself. There they were in the woods, without schools, without churches, without mails. Picture to yourself the situation of his family, on the very outskirts of civilization—nay, hundreds of miles from the outskirts of social life, and you can have some small conception of the character of the man and woman who founded this home one hundred and two years ago. It takes virile natures for men and women to leave friends and relatives behind, and to brave so many dangers from wild beasts and savage men to plant the banners of advancement in these untouched forests during Spanish times. The home they built was no doubt a very crude affair, and its furnishings were simple and plain, even rough; but it was their home, and you know no matter how humble it is, there is no place like home.

At a very early day, probably in the early forties, a camp ground was established on this land on the west side of the creek below the old Bevis house, and Doctor Franklin McKee informs me he remembers a camp meeting held there about 1844 by two Baptist ministers from St. Louis, Messrs. Young and Pope. The old chimney of one of the cabins is still there. Over sixty years ago the Baptists erected a log cabin on the brow of the hill near the old Lynch place. This meeting house was called Liberty, but in time came to be known as Shake Rag. Cotter creek at that time, so Doc. McKee informs me, was called Shake Rag, and no doubt this meeting house acquired its classic name of Shake Rag from the creek near which it was built, but how the creek got that name I could not learn. The ruins of this old house still remain and may be seen from the depot and other places in Victoria.

In the summer of 1857 the Iron Mountain Railroad was completed to this place, and May 10th, 1859, Henry E. Belt platted the whole tract, except 100 acres of it on the north side, into a town and called it Victoria.

At that time a road ran from De Soto and the upper Joachim by Herman's brick kiln, Mooney's bridge, the old Arch Lee place, then down through the bottom to this Bevis place, and on to Hematite. The road from the Plattin to Hillsboro ran to old Buck Station, about a mile north of Victoria.

James L. Rankin, who was at that time a merchant at Hillsboro, and John H. Morse, a miller on Big River. Rankin wanted the station to remain at Old Buck, and Morse wanted it at Victoria. Quite a strife was engendered, but Morse being willing to spend the most money in making roads won out, and the result was that Victoria was born. The first house built here was by Bazile Hiney in 1857, now occupied by C. Marsden. The following is a history of the postoffice here:

Old Buck Station, Franklin McKee, postmaster, March 2nd, 1858. Changed April 13th, 1858, to Hillsboro Station.

The following are the postmasters with date of appointment: Bazile Hiney, April 13, 1858; John O. Gish, April 22, 1858; Henry D. Evens, April 25, 1861; Alfred Mitchell, June 8, 1861; Changed December 30, 1863, to Victoria Station. Henry P. Bates, December 30, 1863; James F. Cross, March 9, 1865; Alfred Mitchell, September 3, 1864; Jesse Elder, July 15, 1869; James J. Elders, April 9, 1877; Benjamin F. Allen, March 10, 1877; James Allen, May 11, 1880; William N. Clingan, July 21, 1881; Amanda L. Clingan, September 21, 1882; Doctor F. McKee, December 6, 1882. Changed September 30, 1885, to Victoria. Cornelius Marsden, September 30, 1885; Doctor F. McKee, April 10, 1889; Cornelius Marsden, April 18, 1893; Jesse Freeman, April 22, 1897.

Thus I have given you a brief history of this tract of land, and it is appropriate that we should plant a monument to mark the old settlement made here by Thomas L. Bevis and his remarkable wife. The first settlers sleep in the rude cemeteries of the times in which they lived, and we should commemorate their heroism displayed in sowing the seeds of civilization we now enjoy. All honors to the dead heroes of our country. * * * *

JOHN L. THOMAS.

MISSOURI FROM 1849 TO 1861. *

Whoever would write the history of the United States adequately for the dozen years ending with the opening of the war of secession would have to give a large space to the story of Missouri. In this story four figures—Thomas H. Benton, Claiborne F. Jackson, David R. Atchison and Francis P. Blair, Jr.—stand out with special prominence. The war's causes and the chain of events which immediately preceded it cannot be described intelligently without telling the deeds of these men.

On Jaunary 15, 1849, Claiborne F. Jackson, from the Committee on Federal Relations of Missouri's Senate, reported a series of resolutions in that body which denied the power of Congress to legislate so as to "affect the institution of slavery in the States, in the District of Columbia or in the Territories;" asserted that "the right to prohibit slavery in any territory belongs exclusively to the people thereof, and can only be exercised by them in forming their constitution for a State government, or in their sovereign capacity as an independent State;" declared that if Congress should pass any Act in conflict with this principle "Missouri will be found in hearty cooperation with the Slaveholding States in such measure as may be deemed necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism," and recited that "our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives be requested to act in conformity to the foregoing resolutions."

These resolutions made Claiborne F. Jackson a force in national politics. They split Benton's party in Missouri, sent Benton into retirement except for two years subse-

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* Read before the State Historical Society of Missouri at its first annual meeting, 1901.

quently in which he was in the House, and put the Calhoun, as distinguished from the Andrew Jackson, section of Democracy in the ascendant in Benton's State. The Calhoun element had gained the supremacy in the party in several of the slave States in the half dozen years immediately preceding the adoption of the Jackson resolutions, and it gained the supremacy in the party in all the slave States before the opening of the Civil War.

Jackson, a Kentuckian by birth, was forty-two years of age at the time he reported his resolutions, twenty-seven of which had been passed in Missouri. He had served several years in the Legislature, was a man of energy, initiative, courage and ability, and was conspicuous in Missouri's history from that time till his death in the second year of the Civil War—first as a leader of the anti-Benton faction of the Democracy in the fights of 1849-56, in which Benton was overthrown, then as one of the chieftains in the raids of 1854-56 across the border into Kansas in the crusade to win that Territory for slavery, and lastly as the governor of Missouri in 1861-62 who endeavored to carry his State into the Confederacy.

Jackson's resolutions (which were introduced in the Legislature by Carty Wells, of Marion county, but which were popularly known by the name of the man who reported them), were opposed by some of Benton's supporters and by many of the Whig members, but they passed the Legislature by large majorities and were signed by Gov. Austin A. King on March 19, 1849. Col. William F. Switzler, then a Whig, and an opponent of the resolutions, who has told, in graphic style, the story of that episode, as well as of all of Missouri annals down to a recent time, is almost the last survivor of that Legislature. The effect of the Jackson resolutions was felt in Missouri politics down to 1861.

What response would Benton make to the demand of his Legislature that he should assist the South in forcing slavery into the Territories? The answer to this query was given an especial importance by the circumstance that

Benton, then serving his fifth term in the Senate, was near the close of that term, and was an aspirant for re-election. His colleague in the Senate was David R. Atchison, a pro-slavery advocate. Benton was born in North Carolina in the year immediately preceding the signing of the final treaty by which George III acknowledged United States' independence, went to Tennessee in early life, commanded a regiment of Tennessee volunteers in the War of 1812, removed to St. Louis in 1815, was chosen one of Missouri's first Senators, beginning his service on the State's admission in 1821, was re-elected four times in succession, and was 67 years of age at the time of the adoption of the Jefferson City slavery extension resolutions of 1849. At that time he had a national fame almost as great as that of Clay, Calhoun or Webster.

Benton was an enthusiastic adherent of Andrew Jackson in the fight against South Carolina nullification in 1832. Like the seventh President, also a resident of a slave State, he was an enemy of slavery and an opponent of its extension into the Territories, though in favor of its protection as a vested right in the States in which it existed. One of the earliest of the advocates of a vigorous assertion of American's claims against England in the Oregon country, he was also, in the interest of territorial expansion, one of the first to propose a railroad across the continent to the Pacific. Like Andrew Jackson, he had the western spirit of nationalism, as opposed to the particularism and state sovereignty represented by his great opponent, Calhoun. Benton loved Missouri, but, also like Jackson, he loved the Union better than he did any State.

What would be Benton's response to the Jefferson City resolutions of 1849? Benton's action on the Calhoun resolutions introduced in the Senate in 1847 furnished the answer. Calhoun's resolutions asserted that the slaveholders had a right, under the Constitution, to take their property into any Territory, regardless of the wishes of Congress or of the Territorial Legislature, to get the same measure of protection for it from the courts that was accorded to all other sorts of property, and that it could not be interfered with except by the people of the Territory when framing a State Constitution. Benton denounced the resolutions as being calculated to inflame the extremists and as being disunionist in their bearing. Calhoun said he expected the support of Benton as a "representative of a slaveholding State," and declared he would know where to find him in the future. Benton's answer was: **"I shall be found in the right place on the side of my country and the Union."** Benton's own account of the affair adds, impressively: "This answer, given on that day and on that spot, is one of the incidents of his life which Mr. Benton will wish posterity to remember."

Calhoun's resolutions of 1847, which voiced the doctrine asserted by the South afterwards, and which was sanctioned by the Dread Scott decision of 1857, had inspired the Jackson resolutions of 1849. These had, for one of their objects, an assault on Benton. The old warrior responded with characteristic promptness and courage. Benton appealed from the Legislature to the people of Missouri. He denounced the Jackson resolutions as aiming to bring ultimately the disunion which the Calhoun resolutions were designed to bring directly, and he made a canvass of the State which was memorable for the number of men then or subsequently distinguished who participated in it, for the excitement which it caused throughout the State, and for the interest which it aroused in the rest of the country.

A large element of the party, of which he had hitherto been the idol, however, turned against him, and he was beaten. After a contest in the Legislature in 1851, notable for its duration and bitterness, in which each section of the Democracy preferred to see the Whig win rather than that the victory should go to the rival faction, Henry S. Geyer, a Whig, on the fortieth ballot, received 80 votes, as compared with 55 votes which went to Benton, and 18 to the anti-Benton Democrat, Benjamin F. Stringfellow, with 4 scattering votes.

After a service of thirty years in the Senate, which was never equaled in duration until recent times in the case of Justin S. Morrill and John Sherman, and which was never exceeded by anyone, without any exception, in the courage with which it was characterized and in the value of the work for the cause of nationality and robust Americanism, Benton retired in 1851, at the age of 69. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1852, in which body he opposed Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska bill, which repealed the Missouri Compromise in 1854, but he was defeated in that year in a canvass for re-election on the issue which the repeal incited, and he was beaten also for Governor in 1856 on the same question. All these contests were memorable for their bitterness, and for the burning denunciation which Benton hurled at his enemies, particularly at those of the opposing faction of his party.

In the presidential canvass of 1856 Benton supported the regular Democratic candidate, Buchanan, whom he personally distrusted, against his own son-in-law, Fremont, the nominee of the newly created Republican party, who stood upon a platform—hostility to slavery extension into the Territories—which had always been a cardinal principle in Benton's creed. He did this because he believed, and probably correctly, that a Republican victory would bring secession and civil war, a peril which he was as anxious to avert as ever Webster or Clay had been, and which he had fought from South Carolina's nullification days in 1832 onward to the Kansas conflict.

Benton's overthrow was one of a series of co-related events covering a wide range. VanBuren's defeat for the nomination in the Baltimore convention in 1844, although earnestly championed by Ex-President Jackson and by Benton, and the nomination of Polk, an ultra State sovereignty man, was followed promptly after Polk's inauguration in 1845 by the deposition, as editor of the Democratic administration organ, of Jackson's and Benton's old friend, the elder Francis P. Blair, a stalwart Unionist, and the accession of Thomas Ritchie, of the Richmond Enquirer, an extreme Calhounist, to that post. The Jefferson City pro-slavery and pro-southern resolutions of 1849 and their direct consequence, the split in the Democratic party in Missouri and Benton's overthrow, were all links in the same chain. They meant the effacement of the Jacksonian section of the Southern Democracy and the triumph of the Calhoun element. Intelligent observers of politics, in the North as well as in the South, saw this. With Benton's defeat in the canvass for the governorship of Missouri in 1856, the last of the old nationalist chieftains of the Democratic party in the slave States passed off the stage. He died in 1858.

But before his death Benton saw the beginning of the national disturbance which he had predicted, and which he had heroically, though vainly, endeavored to avert. A blaze of excitement swept along Missouri's western border through the summer and fall of 1854, just after President Pierce had placed his signature to Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Act which had thrown open to slavery a region from which slavery has been excluded by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Public meetings were held, arms were purchased, and bodies of men were organized for the purpose of getting control of the newly created Territory of Kansas for slavery. A notably great meeting took place in Platte county on November 6 of that year to urge a division of Kansas and the election of the Territorial delegate to Congress who was to be chosen at a canvass to take place on November 29.

The man who made the principal speech at the Platte county gathering is reported in the friendly columns of the Platte Argus thus: "The people of Kansas in their first election would decide the question whether or not the slaveholder was to be excluded, and it depended upon a majority of the votes cast at the polls. Now, if a set of fanatics and demagogues 1,000 miles off (alluding to the work of Eli Thayer's New England Emigrant Aid Society and similar bodies of free State advocates which were helping settlers to get into Kansas) could advance their money and exert every nerve to abolitionize the Territory and exclude the slaveholder when they have not the least personal interest in the matter, what is your duty? When you reside within one day's journey of the Territory, and when your peace, your quiet and your property depend on your action, you can, without an exertion, send 500 of your young men who will vote in favor of your institutions. Should each county in the State of Missouri only do its duty, the question will be decided peacably at the ballot box. If we are defeated, then Missouri and other southern States will have shown themselves recreant to their interests and will have deserved their fate."

He who thus exhorted his fellow Missourians to action was David R. Atchison. Benton's judgment was vindicated. Long before the death of that old champion of freedom for the Territories through the maintenance of the Missouri Compromise, the evil consequences of the repeal of that barrier began to appear.

Atchison, then 47 years of age and a United States Senator, was a native of Kentucky though a resident of Missouri from his early days, was well educated, eloquent and magnetic, and was a stump speaker of rare power. He served in the Missouri Legislature for several years, was a Judge of the Platte County Circuit Court, and was in the United States Senate from the death of Lewis P. Linn in 1841 to 1855. For part of this time, he was president pro tem of that body. He represented the extreme pro-slavery and anti-Bentonian section of his party. A year before Douglas reported the bill which, in its final form, repealed the Missouri Compromise, and thus threw the territories north of 36 degrees 30 minutes open to slavery, Atchison advocated, in speeches delivered throughout the state, the removal of the Missouri restriction. Ex-Attorney-General Benjamin F. Stringfellow, Col. Samuel Young, Claiborne F. Jackson, James M. Burnes and other prominent Missourians figured in the raids across the border in Kansas Territory's turbulent days, but Atchison was the master spirit of these demonstrations.

In order to make plain the Missourian's interest in the Kansas question and the incentive for Atchison's appeals, certain things will have to be mentioned. Missouri with 682,044 inhabitants in 1850, 87,422 of whom were slaves, had been doubling its population on the average, in every successive decade, though its slaves were not increasing as rapidly as its free inhabitants. The twenty-third in a union of twenty-four states at the time of the admission in 1821, Missouri had advanced in 1850 to the thirteenth place among thirty-one states, and it was to stand eighth among thirty-three states in 1860. In general industrial development and wealth its expansion was still more rapid than it was in population. The western counties of Missouri in 1854, at the time the Kansas-Nebraska act was passed, had about 50,000 slaves, worth, at the average market value, about $25,000,000. Douglas's act threw Kansas into the arena as a prize to be struggled for by the North and the South. If the North captured Kansas, then Missouri, with alien influences on its western border to re-enforce those already on its eastern flank in Illinois and on its northern boundary in Iowa, would be a promontory of slavery thrust northward into a sea of freedom. With Kansas won for freedom, all these millions of dollars' worth of property would be endangered.

This is why large bodies of men from Missouri, under the lead of Atchison and others, crossed the border and elected, on November 29, 1854, a delegate to represent Kansas Territory in Congress in the slavery interest, and why, by another incursion, they carried the election of March 30, 1855, for members of the Kansas Territorial Legislature. It was also the incentive for the rest of the invasions of 1854-56. All this does not excuse these irregularities, but it furnishes an intelligent explanation of them. Atchison's prominence in the border troubles was recognized by the establishment of a town named for him in the early days of the Kansas settlement.

Of course the Kansas conflict had national consequences. It enraged the North; killed the Whig party; created the Republican party; inflamed the South; incited the Lecompton proslavery constitution of 1858 which President Buchanan, backed by the South, tried to force upon Kansas against the will of its people, a large majority of whom by that time wanted a free state; aroused the opposition of Douglas, whose popular sovereignty doctrine was thus assailed; split the Democracy in the national convention of Charleston in 1860, putting one section of it under Douglas and the other under Breckinridge; rendered the election of Lincoln certain; incited secession; and precipitated the war which abolished slavery.

Benton was dead before the war began, Atchison was not a participant, but two other Missourians had a very conspicuous part in it—Claiborne F. Jackson and the younger Francis P. Blair.

On Friday, January 11, 1861, a meeting was held in Washington Hall, on the corner of Third and Elm streets, St. Louis, which had a decisive influence on the history of Missouri, and which affected the current of United States history. The meeting was called by Republicans, who were far in the minority in Missouri, and most of its participants, who numbered 1200 according to the Missouri Democrat of January 12, belonged to the Republican party. That meeting was historically important because—

(1) It was the first gathering held in Missouri to combat secession.

(2) It disbanded the Wide Awakes, a Republican organization, and started in its place a Central Union Club, in which any man of good character—Breckinridge Democrat, Douglas Democrat, Bell and Everett Constitutionalist or Lincoln Republican—was eligible to membership, and which attracted men from all these parties.

(3) It established branch clubs in each ward of the city of St. Louis and in each township in the rest of St. Louis county.

(4) It led subsequently to the founding of the Committee of Safety, the master spirit of which was Blair, which comprised Oliver D. Filley (Mayor of St. Louis); Francis P. Blair, Jr.; James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, John How and Julius J. Witzig, which defended the cause of the federal government in the city and the state.

(5) It gave shape, courage, direction and unity to the sentiment and influences which baffled the plottings of the state's secession sympathizing officials—Gov. Jackson, Lieut. Gov. Thomas C. Reynolds, United States Senators James S.

Green and Trusten Polk, a majority of the members of the Legislature, with ex-Senator Atchison and other prominent persons in private station—and held Missouri loyal to the union.

Blair, then 40 years of age and a Kentuckian by birth, had figured with some prominence in Missouri politics prior to that Washington Hall gathering. He had served under Doniphan in the Mexican war; was one of Missouri's original free soil Democrats; was a disciple of Benton, and fought in the losing battle while in the Legislature and out of it on that chieftain's side; became a Republican early in that party's career, and was elected to Congress in 1856, 1858 and 1860. But it was the meeting of January 11, 1861, and the cause which incited it, that gave him the opportunity for the display of foresight, energy, resourcefulness and audacity which made him a great national force in the opening days of the civil war.

To make all this intelligible a backward glance of a few weeks will have to be taken. Lincoln's election on November 6, 1860, was followed by South Carolina's secession on December 20, by Mississippi's on January 9, 1861, by Florida's on January 10, and by Alabama's on January 11, the day of Blair's St. Louis meeting, Alabama, at the same time, inviting all the slaveholding states to send delegates to a convention to be held in Montgomery on February 4 to concert action for their defense in that crisis. The seccession of these four states was accompanied by the withdrawal of their representatives from Congress.

Congress met on December 2, 1860, and on the 4th President Buchanan sent his message, in which he contended that the South had no legal right to secede, nor had the Government any constitutional authority to coerce the secessionists. Buchanan subsequently made it plain, however, that he intended to make an effort to re-enforce the forts, to defend the government's property and to collect the revenue in all the states. Major Robert Anderson, the commander of the United States troops in Charleston harbor, knowing that without strong reenforcements he could not maintain his position, abandoned Fort Moultrie and moved his force of seven officers and sixty-one non-commissioned officers and privates to Fort Sumpter on the night of December 28, upon which South Carolina occupied Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney on December 27 with state troops, and seized the United States arsenal in Charleston, with its 75,000 stand of arms, on December 30. Seizures of forts and other United States property were made immediately afterwards by Georgia, Alabama, Florida and Louisiana. On January 9, 1861, the steamer, Star of the West, sent by Buchanan with 200 troops and a large quantity of supplies to reenforce Major Anderson, was attacked by the batteries manned by South Carolina troops in Charleston harbor and was driven back to sea, and the first shots in the civil war were fired.

This was the national situation at the time of Blair's rally of January 11, 1861. The state situation was also portentous. Missouri's Legislature met on December 31, 1860, and to that body the outgoing Governor, Robert M. Stewart, sent his farewell message on January 8, 1861, in which, though he asserted that the slaveholders had a right to take their property into the territories, he denied the right of secession, and appealed to Missouri to cling to the union. Claiborne F. Jackson, the new Governor, in his inaugural address on the 4th, took the secessionist side, said, in the spirit of his Jefferson City resolution of 1849, that the destiny of all the slave states was the same, and urged Missouri to make a "timely declaration of her determination to stand by her sister slave-holding states, in whose wrongs she participates, and with whose institutions and people she sympathizes."

On the supreme issue of the day there was almost as sharp a transition in Missouri by the change of Governors of the same party on January 4, 1861, as there was in the nation by the change of presidents of different parties on March 4.

Acting on Governor Jackson's recommendations bills were reported to both branches of the legislature (consisting of 15 Breckinridge Democrats, 10 Douglas Democrats, 7 Constitutional Unionists and 1 Republican in the Senate, and 47 Breckinridge Democrats, 37 Constitutional Unionists, 36 Douglas Democrats and 12 Republicans in the House) on January 9 to elect a convention to consider the relations "between the Government of the United States, the people and the governments of the different states and the government and people of the State of Missouri; and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the state and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded.'' This meant secession.

The Legislature's prompt action encouraged the secessionists and correspondingly depressed the Unionist element. Blair at this time, two days before his Washington Hall gathering, knowing the Legislature's partisan complexion and temper, foresaw the overwhelming majority with which it would declare for Jackson's convention. Meanwhile the St. Louis secessionists, at a meeting on January 7, started the organization of Minute Men, which formed part of General Frost's State troops who were captured four months later by Lyon and Blair at Camp Jackson.

A large majority of the people of Missouri, as of all of the rest of the States, believed in those early days of January, 1861, that some sort of a settlement would be reached between the sections and war be averted. There were two men in Missouri, however, who already discerned the approaching crash. These were Governor Claiborne F. Jackson and Francis P. Blair, Jr. Each from this time onward worked with this eventuality constantly in view. Blair's practical work began with the meeting of January 11, 1861.

This was the condition of affairs at the time the Washington Hall gathering of January 11 took place. It was a Republican meeting, but the Republican party, as shown by the poll for president a few weeks earlier (Douglas, 58,801; Bell, 58,373; Breckenridge, 31,917; Lincoln, 17,028), constituted a little over a tenth of the voters of Missouri. It was evident that the Republicans must get aid from other elements, especially from the Douglas and Bell men, or else they would be powerless. In his address to the meeting—the principal address which was delivered—Blair said there were only two parties then in the country, one for the Union and the other for disunion, and that every man who loved his country should strike hands with every other man, no matter what his past political associations had been, who favored the Union's perpetuation. Some Republicans opposed the dropping of their own organization. "Let us see that we have a country first before talking of parties," was Blair's answer.

At the January 11 meeting the Wide Awakes were disbanded, and steps were taken to temporarily dissolve the Republican organization of Missouri and to form a Union party in its place, open to men of all partisan affiliations who would adopt as their creed Jackson's motto of nullification days, "**The Union, it must and shall be preserved.**" From that meeting dates the beginning of the movement, under the direction of the Committee of Safety (Mayor Oliver D. Filley, Francis P. Blair, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, John How and Julius J. Witzig), subsequently formed, which held Missouri in line with the North and West and prevented it from joining the South.

The next day, January 12, a meeting of conditional Union men—men, who while opposing secession, also opposed the coercion of seceded States—took place at the east front of the court house on Fourth street, which was many times larger than Blair's gathering, in which 15,000 persons participated, chiefly men who had supported Douglas and Bell in the preceding election, with a sprinkling of Breckenridge men and Republicans. Hamilton R. Gamble, Lewis V. Bogy and others made speeches, and among the vice presidents of the meeting were Col. John O'Fallon, Wayman Crow, James E. Yeatman, John F. Darby, Luther M. Kennett, Nathaniel Pascall, Erasmus Wells, Daniel G. Taylor, James H. Lucas, Isaac H. Sturgeon, John G. Priest and many others prominent in St. Louis business activities and social life.

Blair, Filley, Broadhead and their associates saw that they would have to draw heavily from the conditional Union men in order to defeat Governor Jackson and his fellow secessionists, and they did this ultimately. Many of the conditional Union men were ultimately won over to the unconditional Union side even before Beauregard's guns shot the flag down on Sumpter, and most of the remainder of them were gained not long afterward.

On Jaunary 18, 1861, a week after Blair's meeting, Missouri's Legislature passed the bill for the holding of the Convention which was to decide whether the State should secede or not. The election was to take place on February 18, and the convention was to meet at Jefferson City on February 28. The question was the most momentous ever presented to the voters of Missouri, and the canvass, though short, was the most exciting which the State ever saw. There were three elements—the out and out Union men, led by Blair, Glover, Broadhead, O. D. Filley, Edward Bates, Benjamin Gratz Brown, William McKee and their colleagues; the conditional Unionists, marshaled by Gamble, Gen. Alexander W. Doniphan, John S. Phelps, Gen. Sterling Price, Nathaniel Paschall and others; and the secessionists, who had Governor Jackson, Senators Green and Polk, Lieutenant Governor Reynolds and their associates for their chiefs—in the fight. The Unionists side was overwhelmingly victorious, gaining a majority of about 80,000 in the aggregate vote on delegates to the Convention. Not a single avowed secessionist was chosen, but some of the delegates secretly favored secession, and a few of them, like Sterling Price, who presided over the convention, went to the confederacy when the actual division came after Lyon and Blair captured Camp Jackson.

A wave of rejoicing swept over the North at the news from Missouri of February 18. New heart was put into the Union men of East Tennessee. The loyal sons of Virginia's mountain counties were encouraged to stand out against secession, to separate from their State when it joined the confederacy, and to form themselves into the commonwealth of West Virginia, and a powerful factor was contributed to the sum of influence which held Maryland and Kentucky in the Union.

But the St. Louis Committee of Safety saw that bullets might have to reinforce ballots before Missouri could be saved. Immediately after the meeting of January 11 Blair began secretly to organize and drill the Home Guards, just as the secessionist Minute Men under Duke, Green, Shaler, Hubbard and others began to do the same thing, but the Minute Men, having the State authorities on their side, did this openly. Blair's great antagonist, Governor Jackson, at the same time endeavored to push a bill through the Legislature to arm the militia of Missouri, ostensibly in defense of the State against encroachments from either South or North, but really in favor of the South. The Unionist victory in the election of February 18 frightened the secessionist Legislature, and defeated the measure.

Blair was more successful. He organized the Home Guards, the nucleus of which were the Wide Awakes, who were chiefly composed of Germans. The aid which the Germans of St. Louis and vicinity gave to the Union cause in that crisis cannot be too highly praised. This sturdy and patriotic element of adopted Americans, which contributed Sigel, Osterhaus, Kallman, Stifel, Schaeffer, Schuttner, Boernstein and many other gallant officers to the Union armies, furnished the majority of the troops which Missouri gave to the government at the outset of the Civil War.

But in the beginning there were no guns with which to arm the Home Guards except what were got from private sources and a few from Gov. Yates of Illinois. In the United States arsenal at St. Louis there were 60,000 stand of arms, together with cannon, powder and other munitions of war. Both Blair and Jackson realized that the side which got possession of the arsenal would control St. Louis, and the side that controlled St. Louis would command Missouri.

Isaac H. Sturgeon, United States Assistant Treasurer at St. Louis, fearing for the safety of the $400,000 of Federal money in his hands and for the arsenal, wrote to President Buchanan on January 5, 1861, asking him to send troops to protect the government property. Buchanan sent Lieutenant Robinson and forty men. Other detachments came later, and Captain Nathaniel Lyon, with his company, arrived at the arsenal from Fort Riley on February 6. Two days earlier than this the confederate government, represented by seven States, was established at Montgomery, Alabama, and four more States were to join it ultimately.

Lyon, who was born in Connecticut in 1818, who was graduated from West Point in 1841, who served with high credit in the Mexican War, and who was stationed in Kansas during the Territorial struggle, was forty-three years of age when he arrived in St. Louis. Prompt, sagacious, resolute and resourceful, he was the man for the crisis. Blair immediately apprised Lyon of the conditions. He instantly grasped the situation, and these two chieftains worked in harmony from that time onward till Lyon's death at the head of his army at Wilson's Creek, six months later.

Hampered at the outset by military superiors—some apathetic, others incapable, and still others unfaithful to the government—Lyon at last, through Blair's influence with President Lincoln, was placed in command at St. Louis on April 21, a week after the capture of Sumpter by Beauregard. By this time the entire municipal machinery of St. Louis had passed into the hands of the secessionists. The change was accomplished through the law pushed through the Legislature by Jackson, taking the control of the police from the Mayor and putting it in the hands of a board appointed by the Governor, and through the election, as Mayor, an April 1, of Daniel S. Taylor, an antagonist of Lincoln's policy to coerce the secessionists. Taylor succeeded the Republican Mayor, O. D. Filley, of the Committee of Safety, and defeated John How, also of the committee, who was the unconditional Unionist candidate. Lyon's appointment as commander in St. Louis made Blair and Lyon masters of the situation.

Fort Sumpter's capture on April 14 brought out President Lincoln's proclamation of April 15 calling for 75,000 troops to put down the rebellion. To the demand for four regiments as Missouri's quota of the 75,000, Governor Jackson responded that Lincoln's object was "illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary," and he added, "Not one man will Missouri furnish for any such unholy crusade." Blair, who arrived in St. Louis from Washington at that moment, instantly wired Secretary of War Cameron that Missouri' four regiments would be furnished just as quickly as a United States officer could be sent to St. Louis to muster them into the service. Blair's word was promptly made good. The arms in the arsenal, now under Lyon's control, were put in the hands of the new regiments, one of which had Blair for its Colonel and John M. Schofield, afterwards commanding general of the army, for its major. Then, after a sufficient quantity of arms were laid aside for immediate emergencies, the remainder were shipped to Governor Yates of Illinois, so as to be out of reach of possible capture by the secessionists.

Events in Missouri now moved rapidly to the catastrophe. Acting under Blair's promptings, Secretary Cameron, on April 30, 1861, two weeks after Sumpter's fall, sent this command to Lyon:

"The President of the United States directs that you enroll in the military service of the United States loyal citizens of St. Louis and vicinity, not exceeding, with those heretofore enlisted, 10,000 in number, for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the United States and for the protection of the peaceable inhabitants of Missouri; and you will, if deemed necessary for that purpose by yourself and Messrs. Oliver D. Filley, John How, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, J. J. Witzig and Francis P. Blair, Jr., proclaim martial law in the city of St. Louis."

This order bears the following endorsement from Winfield Scott, the commanding General of the army: "It is revolutionary times, and therefore I do not object to the irregularity of this. W. S." The order also bore this attestation: "Approved April 30, 1861. A. Lincoln."

Under this authority five more regiments were mustered into the service, four of these before Camp Jackson's capture and one afterward. In the aggregate, in these nine regiments, the Germans were largely in the proponderance. Before Lyon mustered in the first of these latter regiments most of the State militia had gathered in the western part of the city, about 1,000 strong, including the greater part of the secessionist Minute Men organized in St. Louis. Jackson's original intention was that this force should make a dash on the arsenal, and seize the arms, but the occupation of the arsenal by a part of Lyon's troops, and the shipment to Illinois of all the arms not immediately needed defeated this purpose. The militia camped for a week, beginning on May 6, in Lindell's Grove, near the intersection of Olive street and Grand avenue, St. Louis, the camp being called Camp Jackson, in honor of the Governor. It was commanded by Gen. Daniel M. Frost, a native of New York, a West Point graduate, who made a good record in the Mexican War, but who resigned soon afterward and entered business in St. Louis.

Blair and Lyon determined to capture Jackson's militia. Gen. Harney, the commander of the military district, who was temporarily absent, would, they feared, prevent this move if he were present. The camp would end on Saturday, the 11th, and the militia would disperse, taking their arms with them. The Unionist chieftains struck with their customary courage and promptness. They quickly surrounded the camp on Friday, May 10, by a large force, compelled Frost to surrender immediately and unconditionally without the firing of a shot, disarmed his men and paroled them not to bear arms against the United States until regularly exchanged. This bold stroke, attended, after the surrender, by a lamentable collision between the crowd on the streets and Lyon's soldiers, in which twenty-eight lives were lost, set Missouri ablaze, compelled all its citizens to take sides, and started the war west of the Mississippi.

Camp Jackson's capture on May 10, 1861—three days before the Union troops occupied Baltimore and two weeks before they marched from Washington into Virginia—had momentous consequences. The first aggressive blow dealt to the confederacy anywhere, it held Missouri resolutely on the side of the government, turned the scale against secession in Kentucky, forced the confederate sphere of influence in the West down near the Arkansas and Cumberland, defeated the purpose of the secessionists to cut off communication between the East and the Pacific States by the overland route, and was a powerful factor in making this nation, in Chief Justice Chase's phrase, an "indestructible Union of indestructible States."

CHARLES M. HARVEY.

A HISTORY OF WESTMINSTER COLLEGE. *

The Rev. W. W. Robertson, D. D., was the original moving spirit in the conception of a Presbyterian College in Missouri, and in its final location in Fulton. The first step taken in this direction was the establishment at Fulton in about the year 1851 of an institution of learning for young men known as Fulton College. (1) This institution had a flattering beginning—having at its first session over fifty young men. Prof. William Van Doren, of New Jersey, was placed at the head of this school, and so remained until it was supplanted, or absorbed, by Westminster College. The assistant professors of Fulton College were Dr. E. T. Scott and Prof. Thomas L. Tureman. In September, 1852, the

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* Paper by Judge John A. Hockaday (deceased) published in "The Westminster Monthly," June, 1902.

1. An act was passed by the 16th General Assembly and approved Feb. 8, 1851, reciting that the Old School division of the Presbyterian Church in Callaway County was desirous of building up a college, and Harvey J. Bailey, Alfred George, Alfred A. Ryley, Samuel R. Dyer, Solomon Jenkins, Israel B. Grant, David McKee, Isaac Tate, George Nicholson, Irvine O. Hockaday, Robert Calhoun, Thomas West, Martin Baker, Samuel Ryley, David Coulter, Joseph M. Duncan, Thomas B. Nesbit and Nathan H. Hall were incorporated as trustees of an institution called Fulton College. The college was to be located within a half mile of the town of Fulton and the Synod of Missouri in connection with the Presbyterian Church in the United States might at any future time adopt the College.

The 17th General Assembly passed an act approved February 23, 1853, to amend an act apparently the above, but giving its date as 1853 instead of 1851, and to charter Westminster College under the Synod of Missouri, Presbyterian Church in the United States (Old School), and named the following trustees: Alfred A. Kebey, William W. Robertson, David Coulter, Preston B. Reed, James Whiteside, Adison V. Schenck, Edward M. Samuel, John G. Miller, Hamilton Smith, William Provines, Samuel S. Watson, William P. Cochran, John F. Cowan, Hamilton R. Gamble, Samuel J. P. Anderson, Joseph Charless, John G. Fackler, and Robert S. Symington.

An act passed February 23, 1857, relating to "the College now located at Fulton" gives the names of the trustees as Preston B. Reed, Hamilton R. Gamble, William Provines, Edward M. Samuel, John G. Miller, James Young, S. S. Watson, Milton P. Cayce and Joseph Stenett.—Editor.

present Philologic society was organized under the auspices of this institution.

At the meeting of Synod in the year 1851 the establishment of a Presbyterian College in the State took definite shape, and that body instituted immediate measures to promote the enterprise. The plan adopted to secure an early location of the institution was by letting it out to competitive bidding to such eligible towns in the State as might want to contend for it. Four places at once entered into the contest, viz: St. Charles, Fulton, Boonville and Richmond. The competition soon became sharp, if not a little acrimonious. The Synod to locate the institution and christen it, met at Fulton in the fall of 1852. Two days were consumed in the presentation of the claims of the respective competing points. Fulton was principally represented on the floor of the Synod by the Hon. Preston C. Reed, an eminent lawyer of Fulton, who made a strong plea for Fulton in a speech of four hours. Hon. John G. Miller, then a member of Congress from Missouri, presented the claims of Boonville in an able and pleasing speech, and S. S. Watson espoused the claims of St. Charles, and Hon. E. M. Samuel those of Richmond. By a decided vote, Fulton secured the prize and the institution was then and there christened "Westminster College." Articles of incorporation immediately followed its location, and the erection of the present old building followed in the succeeding summer. The corner stone was laid on the Fourth of July, 1853, and the address of the occasion delivered by Dr. N. L. Rice, then a resident of St. Louis.

In 1854 the building was completed and opened. For a year or more preceding the completion of the present building the old building used in connection with Fulton College was secured and used for college purposes. Immediately upon the occupancy of the new edifice, Dr. S. S. Laws, a man of great scholarly attainments, was elected Westminster's first president. The remainder of the first faculty was composed of the following gentlemen: Prof. William Van Doren, Profs. Thomas D. and William Baird of Baltimore, and Dr. M. M. Fisher of Illinois. Besides these, there were, during Dr. Laws' incumbency, the following other gentlemen who filled professorships in the college: Dr. F. T. Kemper, Prof. J. S. Hughes and Prof. A. M. Mayer.

Under the administration of Dr. Laws, a handsome endowment of about one hundred thousand dollars was soon secured and the number of students brought up to an average of one hundred—reaching finally near one hundred and fifty. In 1854 the Philalethian literary society was organized. Westminster's first commencement was held in 1855 and Rev. James G. Smith was its first graduate, and the only graduate for that year.

Under the able and excellent administration of Dr. Laws, Westminster steadily progressed in strength and popularity, strongly rivaling the State University and for a larger part of the time, outnumbering it in students, with an equal number of professors and a higher curriculum necessary for graduation. Up to the beginning of the Civil War, Westminster had moved steadily onward and had assumed a commanding position among the educational institutions of the country far beyond the highest expectations of its most ardent friends. In the early part of this unhappy struggle Dr. Laws was forced to give up the presidency and leave the State on account of his political opinions and the College forced to suspend for a brief period.

About the second year of the war, the institution was reorganized in its faculty and again opened its doors for students, and ran steadily on and throughout and to the close of the struggle. During the war period of its history, it had no regular president, but was presided over a short time by Prof. J. P. Finley, with whom was associated Dr. John N. Lyle, Prof. John H. Scott and Dr. M. M. Fisher. A short time before the close of the war Prof. Finley resigned and Dr. M. M. Fisher became the presiding head of the College as chairman of the faculty. He was, after a few years' service, succeeded by Dr. John Montgomery, of Kentucky, who was elected as the second president of the College. He was a man of great power in the pulpit and of substantial scholarly attainments. During his administration the number of students increased rapidly, and the College was restored in a measure to its prosperity preceding the war. During the war the College lost a part of its endowment and active work became necessary to re-endow it. Dr. Montgomery proceeded to restore these losses, and supplemented by the aid and energy of Dr. Robertson, then the president of the Board of Trustees, and succeeding presidents, a new endowment of about $80,000 was obtained in a few years, the greater part of which composes its present endowment fund.

Dr. Montgomery resigned as president of the College in about the year 1866 to again enter the active ministry, and Dr. Fisher again took charge of the College as chairman of the faculty.

The institution was thus without a president until about the year 1868 when Dr. Nathan L. Rice, then of New York City, was unanimously elected as its third president. The scholarship and great ability of Dr. Rice is known and acknowledged the world over. It is therefore needless to say that Westminster under his leadership took a new lease on life and went steadily to the front. The number of students under him exceeded that of any preceding time in the history of the College.

Dr. Rice severed his connection with it to take a position in the Theological Seminary at Danville, Kentucky, in about the year 1874, and the College fell back in charge of Dr. M. M. Fisher, who presided over it as chairman of the faculty until about 1879, when he resigned to take a professorship at the State University. It is due to the memory of Dr. Fisher to say that he was one of the most steadfast friends the College ever had. A strong, able and good man, he stood by it in the darkest days at a meager salary, and for his devotion its friends will forever owe him a debt of gratitude. Dr. C. C. Hersman was next chosen to preside over the faculty and College, which he did with great success and acceptance until 1881 when, against his protest, he was elected as its fourth president. Dr. Hersman was a man of profound scholarship and great learning, and gave the College a strong, safe and progressive administration, keeping it well up to the most successful periods in its history preceding him. He resigned in 1886 to accept the presidency of an institution in Tennessee. Dr. William H. Marquess, one of Westminster's brightest alumni, and a prodigy as a student, succeeded Dr. Hersman as the fifth president of his **alma mater**. Great success attended Dr. Marquess' administration of the College, and during his incumbency, the famous Sausser bequest of $125,000 was added to the College endowment.

Dr. Marquess resigned in 1891 to take a position in the Seminary at Louisville, much to the regret of all friends of Westminster. After a short interregnum, Dr. E. C. Gordon, formerly of the State of Virginia, was called to the presidency of the College, making its sixth president.

Dr. Gordon was a man of acknowledged power and learning, and while the number of students was not so large under his administration as under some of his predecessors, yet the advancement of students, and the high order of scholarship of those under his training gave great strength and individuality to his administration. Besides, he took charge of the College in the midst of one of the greatest financial panics the country ever experienced, which put its blight on institutions of learning as upon every other business enterprise or industry. Dr. Gordon having resigned in 1892, Dr. John J. Rice, as vice president, took charge and successfully conducted the affairs of the College until he was relieved by the election of a president.

Dr. John Henry McCracken, of New York, is Westminster's seventh president. He entered upon the duties of his office in 1899. His marvelous success in administering the affairs of the College during his short incumbency is a matter of common knowledge with all its friends. He has not only added largely to its revenues and buildings, but has kept the number of students cleverly up to the average and the institution free from debt. But his greatest achievement, and one which makes an epoch in the history of the College, was the union of our brethren north and south in its patronage and support.

This is one of the brightest spots in its history, and one that must stand pre-eminently among its greatest blessings and achievements.

In conclusion it may be of interest to the friends of the College to know some of the many distinguished men of our country who have delivered addresses on its commencement occasions in the long period of fifty years in its history. Such of these are given as can be recalled by the writer: Rev. E. Thompson Baird, of Baltimore, Dr. S. J. P. Anderson, Dr. James H. Brooks, Dr. Robert G. Brank, Hon. Edward Bates, of St. Louis, Dr. Moses Hogue, of Virginia, Dr. Plummer, of Pennsylvania, Dr. B. M. Palmer, of Louisiana, Dr. Craig, Dr. Halsey, of Chicago, Dr. H. B. Bender, of Missouri, Hon. Henry Clay Dean, Hon. William H. Wallace, Hon. John F. Philips, Hon. J. H. Young, Hon. H. S. Priest, Hon. William J. Stone, Dr. Gevens B. Stuckler, Dr. Frank W. Sneed, Dr. W. J. McKitrick, Dr. Hemphill, Dr. J. H. Vance, Dr. B. T. Lacey, Dr. E. F. Berkley, Hon. Charles P. Johnson, Hon. W. H. Russell.

The writer does not profess to be thoroughly accurate as to dates in this hasty synopsis of Westminster's history, but the events detailed are substantially correct throughout.

JOHN A. HOCKADAY.

ORIGIN OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AT WESTPORT.*

In the early settling of Jackson county, say in 1837 to 1840, there were but few church houses. Indeed, I might say not one for the Christian church, who at that time were called reformers and by other churches, Campbellites. They were not held in high esteem by other denominations; Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists, all agreed that these people called reformers predicated the plan of salvation solely upon water baptism; hence every reasonable effort was put forth to prevent the growth and progress of this church, but the light of the gospel still brightened in the county, and the Christian church, by reason of religious opposition waxed stronger in the faith and grew in the service of the Lord. Opposition seemed to invigorate their efforts, until by their Christian deportment they became an important Christian factor among the churches of Jackson county.

I rejoice to know that all of the denominations of today have divested themselves of this uncharitable intolerance, and are ready to take our hand and join in the labor of the salvation of souls. All are laboring, not to put each other down, but to save sinners and Christianize the world.

At the date of which I speak, 1837 to 1840, a few members of the Reform Church had settled in this county. A few were scattered in every neighborhood in Jackson county; they would hold meetings at private houses, singing, praying and exhorting, endeavoring to keep up a sort of church organization. It may be of interest to some present to give the names of the most prominent members and their locality in the county. In the northeast part of the county in the vicinity of

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*Paper read by Captain Stephen C. Ragan, before the congregation of Hyde Park Christian Church of Westport, Mo., Sunday afternoon, November 25, 1906, at the celebration of the 69th anniversary of the founding of the Westport Christian Church, now known as Hyde Park Christian Church.

Sibley, Levasy, Buckner and Grainvalley, lived the families of Col. James and William Cogswell. Parents and children were well educated and quite wealthy, all members of the Christian church. They with other prominent citizens there kept their religious light burning. About Blue Springs lived Judge Luther Mason and other members of the Christian church, who labored to propagate the gospel. Near Lone Jack lived Col. Geo. W. and John W. Late and Jack Bynum, all active workers in the vineyard of the Lord. In the southwest part of the county were the families of J. R. Whitsett at Hart Grove, who for years had no one to aid him in religious work, but in the course of time Ed Nolan, Esq., Isaac Bryant, Ben Robinson, E. A. Hickman, et al., organized a church at Rickman Mills in the year 1857 or 1858. This church has flourished to the present time. It is surrounded by a very intelligent community. Its officers have always been filled by active, intelligent men, who added much to the growth and prosperity of the congregation. Independence being the county seat and the most popular town in the county, was settled by an enterprising community, mostly Kentuckians. A large part of its inhabitants were members of the Christian church, among whom were Oliver Caldwell, James and Robert Smart, Tom Hughes, Joe Glover, Judge Sheeley and a very large family of the Bryants, Oldhams and many others. They organized a church in the early days.

But I have digressed from my subject: The Origin of the Christian Church at Westport. In order to get at the nucleus of this church organization, it will be necessary to speak of the small groups of the Christian church, who with united effort organized the first Christian church at Westport. The members resided in what was called Kaw township, notably, the Steeles, Talleys and Lockridges, living just east and southeast of Kansas City, Simmons family located on the Blue river, James Davenport, (not of the family of Stephen Davenport), Duke W. Simpson, Thomas Phelps, Beverly Monday, Jacob Ragan, etc. These members would meet at private houses and have services in inclement weather and in groves or forests in summer. Under these stately trees the gospel was preached in its simple purity, songs of praise sung which echoed through the forests until the surrounding woods were vocal with music and prayers of these earnest, devoted people.

Sometime in 1839 or 1840, Jacob Ragan built and donated to the Christian church a large log building, located about a half quarter from the Janssen Place in Kanwood Addition, three-fourths of a mile from this place on the southeast corner of my father's old farm (now known as 3644 Holmes street). This building was sufficient to accommodate all the members of the church, with room to spare for outsiders. A church was organized, and Elder Frank Palmer's (of Independence, Mo.) services secured, (he had been preaching at the private houses and groves prior to this) and all went smoothly on, the church gaining in members and respectability. The congregation met only once a month, the second Lord's day. They met in this house for many years. As men prospered however, their pride was augmented and the members began to look around for more elegant quarters in which to worship. Westport seemed to be the choice of its members, so in 1846 or '47, the Christian church made a deal with the Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists to erect a Union church, the same from which this congregation so recently removed, the old brick church (located at the northeast corner of Westport avenue and Central street) around which so many pleasant memories cluster, the church that such men as Moses E. Lard, Allen Wright, Alexander Campbell, Raccoon John Smith and other noted men honored with their presence, and held the audience enthused and edified by their profound thoughts and distinguished oratory. This church was called at this time the First Christian church, (not of Westport, because there was no other Christian church here) but the First Christian church of Jackson county, and it is today entitled to that rank, (with all due respect to the church at Eleventh and Locust). Rev. Frank Palmer preached every month on the second Lord's day. This congregation took rank as one of the best churches in the West. Members took active part in church work, so their harmonious labors soon elicited the esteem and admiration of other churches.

This congregation continued to flourish until the Civil War, which paralyzed all religious organizations in this county. The death of Elder Duke W. Simpson, sometime about 1854 or 1855, was a great shock to the congregation. He was one of the leading members, had a big purse, a big soul, was always willing to give pecuniary aid to, not only the church, but all indigent persons worthy of it. He was polite, affable, always in a good humor, meeting you with a smile, if you were sad he would soon make you glad, in short, a model Christian. No wonder the church missed him. I have heard old members say that the church never fully recovered from the shock caused by his death.

I have said this much about Duke W. Simpson, and his memory deserves four times as much. The officers of the church from its organization, as well as I can remember, were D. W. Simpson and Jacob Ragan, as elders, who held these positions continuously until Simpson's death. James B. Davenport joined the church sometime in '46 or '47 and became a very prominent member, and served as deacon and elder until he moved to Cook county, Texas, in 1857 or 1858.

This church elicited the services of many distinguished ministers: Dr. Henry Haley, Moses E. Laird, Allen Wright, Raccoon John Smith, Samuel McCormick, of Kentucky; Elgin Swift and William Parker, from Pleasant Hill. All visited and preached for this congregation. Allen Wright was by far the most popular with other churches. He was so smooth in his discourses that he never gave offense, but often captured members of other churches who declared that he was not a Campbellite. If Laird came around and preached from the same text and gave the same reasoning, it was handed out "with the bark on" and did not have as good effect as the sermons of Allen Wright, who, of all the preachers that visited the Westport Church, made more conversions than any other minister. He was a large, handsome man; he took his text, and as he progressed, warmed up, tears coursing down his cheeks, his appeals to sinners seemed irresistible; hence, his universal success. He was regarded as one of the strongest ministers in Missouri.

Raccoon John Smith, of Kentucky, once visited the Church at Westport. As he was a noted and very eccentric character, a large audience turned out that day. Brother Smith, casting his keen eyes over the congregation saw an elderly lady very plainly dressed standing up, as there was no vacant seat. At last Brother Smith saw three young ladies occupying one bench. He saw that they had on very large hoops. He looked toward them with a scowl on his face and said, "Young ladies, compress those hoops so as to give room for this old Sister of Zion." The girls compressed their hoops as did every lady in the house who wore them. Hoops were fashionable, and all ladies of fashion wore them. Before this incident occurred the house seemed to be full to overflowing. After the hoops were compressed there was room for as many more. I am not sure, but I think hoops went out of fashion about this time, especially about Westport.

Rev. Frank Palmer, who had preached to these people in forests of this county before this house was built, still continued to be the minister up to 1860, and afterwards, '68, '73 and '74. He had moved to Clay county during the war. Rev. Frank Palmer in many respects was a wonderful man. He said but little to anyone, seemed to be cold hearted, but such was not the case. His mind was occupied on some subject that required deep thought, and when in this mood he would forget his surroundings. When he preached, he had one way of speaking. He would take his text and never loose sight of it until he had brought out all the points it contained, and then with a warm exhortation, invite sinners to come to Christ. His favorite invitation hymn was, "Come humble sinners in whose breast, etc.," and if he saw any encouragement would sing another hymn. If he did not take his text from the 2nd Chapter of Acts, he was almost sure to refer to it before closing his discourse. He very often sang a solo before dismissing the congregation with the words, "Time is winging us away as fast as time can move. Time is but a wintry day, a journeying to the tomb." When he dismissed the audience he used but little ceremony but made preparations to return to his home or go with some brother to dinner. Very few who follow him will do the work he has done in Jackson County, for it will be remembered that he gave his whole time to the ministry, preaching at other points in the county when not at Westport.

I have followed the Christian Church from the woods to the old log cabin and to the old brick church at Westport. If I could this day give you a panoramic view of these old Christians, and if possible a view of their motives, you would be better prepared to appreciate the efforts of these people, who through privation and arduous struggles for existence, meeting in cold houses, overcame every difficulty with laudable courage. The old Christians are gone, the old songs they sang are forgotten and music more operatic substituted. The old time hymns, as sung in the churches of long ago are relegated to the rear, to be brought out when all men must appear before the judgment bar of God, to be judged according to the deeds done in the body whether they be good or bad. "When the Roll is Called Up Yonder," I think the old members of the Westport Church will answer present.

Some time after the Civil War, about 1867 or 1868, a few of the old members and some members who had never belonged to the Westport Church, organized into a church capacity with Jacob Ragan and John Harris as officers of this Church, but this organization was of short duration. The war had left some discord in this part of Missouri, and perhaps this feeling entered into this church and it went to pieces. At this time, say 1872 or 1873, some of the original members were well stricken in years, and physically unable to attend church. Some of these members were Jacob and Annie Ragan, John Harris who dropped out.

About the date 1872 or '73, Dr. Henry Palmer settled in Westport, and by a vigorous effort revived the interest of the Church and organized anew. Some of the old members came back, and there were some twenty-five or twenty-eigth who attended regularly. Uncle Frank Palmer, from Liberty, visited and preached for them occasionally, but the main pastor was Brother Morton, from Clay county. William Caldwell, from Johnson County attended this Church occasionally. This congregation flourished until some time in 1886, but many of the members died and some moved off. Mike McCarty, a very active member, also Greenberry Ragan, died in 1886, Dr. Palmer moved off, and as they were the active and leading members, the religious light in the old Church was extinct and remained so until about the winter of 1887, when a Brother Page, from Illinois, proposed to drive the bats and swine from the church building and repair it, and organize a congregation. He approached me with tears in his eyes and said he was soliciting a contribution. For this purpose I gave $125, Benjamin Estell a like amount, James White and other members contributed liberally, so that Brother Page had ample means with which to make the repairs. He superintended the work himself and soon had the house in good shape for occupancy, and immediately organized a Church with James White, Benjamin Estell and myself as Elders. Brother Page gave good service and had a very respectable congregation. He labored faithfully with this congregation for a year or more and then moved west. In 1888 Brother Clay, who succeeded him, was a successful minister, but remained a little more than a year, when he was succeeded by Brother L. Z. Burr, in 1891, who remained about eighteen months, or until 1892. Then Brother Dunning took charge of the Church, but remained only a short time. During the years from 1893 to 1900, various ministers occupied the old Church, the names of whom are as well known by the congregation as they are by myself.

The last Pastor of the old Church, Roger H. Fife, perhaps deserves more credit than anyone who preceded him, for it was by his persistence and untiring energy that this building was erected. I do not mean financially with money, but by his supervision and physical labor, these walls were erected and the finishing touches applied, so that the members here have a magnificent structure in which to worship, with a large and respectable membership. You are the outcome or fruit of seed sown by the old pioneers who have passed on remembered by a very few who were boys, when they were struggling and trying to promulgate the Gospel in the early 40's. ,

The members of the old church of this county, I mean of the Christian Church, were almost without exception Kentuckians. They moved here just after B. W. Stone and Thos. and Alexander Campbell had made an evangelistic tour through Kentucky.

My story is at an end, but I wish to say that, the names of many pious and active members have been omitted in this sketch, not for want of respect, but of space.

Verily it has come to pass, even as our Lord said, "Others have labored, and ye have entered into their labors."

STEPHEN C. RAGAN.

NAMES OF REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS KNOWN TO BE BURIED IN MISSOURI.

David Bedell, buried by the side of Elisha Headlee, his brother-in-law. Headlee and Bedell served in the same company of Pennsylvania dragoons and married sisters. They came from North Carolina to Missouri in 1834 and selected the place for Salem cemetery, requesting that they be buried side by side. They were strict Methodists. Information as to Headlee and Bedell from M. O. Bedell, Springfield, Mo., grandson of David Bedell.

Samuel Boles (Bowles?) buried in Callaway County, on the old Boles farm, four miles south of Fulton. Died about 1840. Thomas Terry, La Monte, and J. W. Boles, Auxvasse, informants.

Thomas Boyd, served under General McNair, born in North Carolina, buried in the old J. P. Home cemetery upon the farm now owned by Robert T. Nichols, near the village of Carrington. Information from John K. Boyd, Sr., of Centralia, Mo., who remembers hearing his grandfather relate his Revolutionary experiences.

Samuel Burks, buried in the Matthews graveyard, St. Francois township, Madison County. Information from B. G. Burks, grandson, Des Arc, Mo.

Christopher Casey, buried in Jefferson City. Information from F. W. Roer, County Clerk. Also information from W. W. Goodall, of Jefferson City, reciting that Christopher Casey is buried in the Gordon lot in the cemetery at that place, and that a stone marks his grave.

John Chambers, buried in Kennedy graveyard about 1 mile southwest of Wright City. Information from J. B. Allen, great-grandson, Troy, Lincoln County. Also from Pierre B. Kennedy, St. Louis.

Col. Benjamin Cooper, for whom Cooper County was named, was buried on the bluff, one mile southeast of Cooper's old fort in Howard County. Information from great-granddaughter, Miss Harriet Mayfield, 1814 Washington Avenue, St. Louis.

Abel Dodd, buried at Millersburg; descendant, John T. Miller, Mexico, Mo. Information from W. P. Robinson, Fulton, Mo.

Charles Finnell, of Chariton County, is buried in Randolph county, about one and one-half miles south of Clifton Hill. Information from Mrs. A. H. Conrad, Shannondale, Mo.

William Goodson, ensign in the Revolution, was buried in a churchyard, 4 miles northwest of Carrollton. Information from J. T. Goodson and Alvin Goodson, Carrolton.

George Hardin, buried at Berry farm, near Fulton; descendants, George Hardin, Fulton, Mrs. W. T. Herring, Shamrock, Mo. Information from W. P. Robinson, Deputy County Clerk, Fulton, Callaway county.

John Hawkins, buried at Potosi. Information from Thomas Dudley Castleman, Potosi, Mo.

Elisha Headlee, Salem cemetery, 10 miles north of Springfield. For information, see "Bedell."

Abram Hill, died in Ray County, but cannot locate his grave. Information from Probate Judge, Ray County.

Robert Jamison, buried west of New London in a private cemetery on the place now owned by one Emmison. From David Wallace.

Thomas Kennedy, buried in the Kennedy graveyard, near Wright City, the same cemetery in which John Chambers is buried. He was a resident of Pendleton District, South Carolina, and served in Fifth (or Seventh) Virginia regiment, which regiment was almost annihilated at battle of Briar Creek. Kennedy then joined Humphrey Barnett's rangers for the rest of the war. He married Sarah Gibson, of Pendleton District, S. C., daughter of Gayan Gibson, a soldier of the Revolution. Kennedy removed to Missouri in 1808 or '09, and settled in what is now Warren County, near Wright City. Information from grandson, Pierre B. Kennedy, St. Louis.

Robert Kirkpatrick, died in 1841 and was buried in the New Lebanon cemetery, Cooper County. Information from W. L. Cordry, Bunceton, Mo.

—— Leake, who lived in Salt River township, is thought to be buried in the Church cemetery at St. Paul's Church, Center township. Information from Mr. Wallace.

Robert Lemon, buried on his home place in Boone County, 2 1-2 miles northwest of Columbia. Information from granddaughter, Miss Fannie Lemon, Columbia.

John Majors, a soldier of the Revolution, born April 22, 1759, died December 27, 1844, is buried in the family cemetery on the farm of Rufus Majors, in the northeast corner of Clay County. Information from R. M. Majors, Kearney, Mo.

Henry Overly, died near Shamrock, Callaway County, and was buried on his home place about 4 miles from Shamrock. His grave has since been plowed over. It is located on the southwest quarter of the southwest quarter of section 12, township 49, range 7 west. Information from J. S. Lail, Shamrock.

James Parks, buried at New Hope Baptist Church, forks of Chariton, Chariton County. Finnell and Parks related to Mrs. A. K. Leonard, Shannondale, Mo., from whom information comes. Correspondence with E. Dred Finnell, Salisbury, Mo.

John Paul buried at Potosi. Information from Thomas Dudley Castleman, Potosi, Mo.

George Readding, buried at St. Francoisville, Clark County, about 12 miles from Keokuk, Iowa. The inscription on his gravestone reads: "George Readding, a Revolutionary soldier, and an elder in the Presbyterian Church near fifty years. Died Aug. 4, 1846, in the eighty-fifth (85) year of his age." Information from Mrs. Ruth Colins Canby, Historian, Keokuk Chapter, Keokuk, Iowa.

Edward Robertson, buried in the old graveyard of the Robertson family near Clark's Fork. Robert McCulloch, of Clark's Fork, writes that he has recently visited this grave and found an old marble stone, nearly covered with dirt, which bears this inscription: "Edward Robertson died April 21, 1848, aged 94 years, 11 months, and 11 days." A communication from the Bureau of Pensions at Washington gives the following data concerning Edward Robertson:

He enlisted July 20, 1776, in Maryland, and served three years as a private soldier under Colonel Housaker, Captain Heizer. Battles engaged in were Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. Applied for pension from Howard County, Mo., Nov. 14, 1818. Age at that time 65 years. His claim was allowed.

Robert S. Russell, buried at Freeman farm, near Millersburg, Callaway County. Descendant, T. A. Russell, Fulton. Information from W. P. Robinson, Fulton, Mo.

James Sewell, removed to Clay County to Clinton County in 1840, and a few years later died at the home of a married daughter named Pogue or Poage. His grave is supposed to be in the Poage burying ground ten miles northwest of Plattsburg, County seat of Clinton County. From County Clerk of Clay County.

Richard Sims, died in 1852, buried in the old Sims graveyard about 8 miles north of Liberty, Mo. Information from great-great-granddaughter, Louise C. Stogdale, Liberty, Mo.

Rodem Sims, buried on the old Crawford farm in the family lot on the place in an unmarked grave. From Hon. David Wallace, member of Legislature from Ralls County, New London.

Samuel Steele, buried at Mount Comfort cemetery, 8 miles north of Springfield. Information from M. O. Bedell, Springfield, Mo.

Benjamin Taylor was buried in Stoddard County, but the grave has not yet been located with exactness. Information from J. N. Punch, County Clerk.

Edward Thomas, buried at the Thomas Stone house, Bellview, Iron County. Information from Thomas Dudley Castleman, Potosi, Mo.

James Wells resided with son-in-law, James Clevenger, in 1840, died Aug. 17, 1855, aged 92, and was buried in New Garden cemetery, Ray County. Information from Probate Judge, Ray County.

John Woolfolk was born September 9, 1762, in Virginia, and died in Boone County, October 11, 1843. Buried near Deer Park, a small town 8 miles south of Columbia. A limestone slab marks his grave. Information from Col. William F. Switzler, Columbia, Mo.

The pension records of 1840 show that Uriah Brock, then aged 79, was living in Scott County, town or township of Moreland, with Hartwell Brock. The Pension Commissioner informs me that he served six years in the Revolution as a private, under Captain Camp Carter, Colonel Charles Harrison; enlisted from Virginia. He was in the battles of Monmouth, Guilford Court House, Eutaw Springs and Camden. Applied for a pension June 18, 1819, then aged 56 years, from Cape Girardeau County. His claim was allowed.

I have a memorandum of three Pennsylvanians who removed to Missouri after the Revolution:

William Nicholson, resided in St. Francois County in 1833, aged 79. He served in the First, Fourth and Seventh Pennsylvania Regiments, Continental Line. See Pennsylvania Archives, second series, Vol. X.

George Miller, 2. In Franklin County, June 15, 1834. Served in Second Pennsylvania Regiment. See same Volume.

Thomas Wyatt, Ensign, resided in St. Louis, Mo., in 1834, aged 80. Served in Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. See same Volume. Pension Commissioner writes that Thomas Wyatt served 4 years as Ensign under Captain Van Swearingen, Colonels Wilson and McCoy. Enlisted from Pennsylvania. Was in battle of Brandywine. Applied for pension April 6, 1819, from St. Louis County, then aged 65 years. His claim was allowed.

MARY LOUISE DALTON.

State Historian for Missouri's Daughters of the American Revolution.

Wentzville, Mo., January, 1903.

It was suggestd to the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution not long ago that the government of the United States would furnish simple headstones, similar to those now used in national soldiers' cemeteries, for the graves of Revolutionary soldiers. The Daughters of the American Revolution resolved to begin a search for these graves.

In July last the state regent of D. A. R. for Missouri, Mrs. George H. Shields, 4426 Westminster Place, St. Louis, obtained a list of more than 100 names of Revolutionary soldiers who were living in Missouri in 1840. This list was taken from the pension records, and gave the names of Revolutionary soldiers who were drawing pensions at that date. It was supposed that men of the ages mentioned would have died and been buried in Missouri.

The state regent sent this list to the state historian for D. A. R., Miss Mary Louise Dalton, Wentzville, Mo., and the search for graves in Missouri was begun.

The state historian wrote to the County Clerks, and, in many instances, to Probate Judges of the Counties wherein Revolutionary soldiers resided. By this means 25 graves were located, 21 of which names appeared on the pension list.

On November 2, 1902, the state historian published her list of 111 names in the Globe-Democrat, with an appeal to the public for information regarding graves of these men, as well as graves of Revolutionary soldiers not mentioned in pension list.

A number of answers were received, and our information now covers 34 graves as the result of our work. We hope that the future will bring a yet richer reward.

(MISS) MARY LOUISE DALTON,
State Historian for Missouri's D. A. R., Wentzville, Mo.
To State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

NOTE. An item in the last number of the Review states that Capt. William Baylis is buried near Calhoun, Mo., and one in this number that William Lambley is buried near Mount Vernon, Mo.

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE TROUBLES ON THE BORDER, 1860.

THE SOUTHWEST EXPEDITION.

The election of Lincoln was followed by the most alarming disorders on the border of the whole period from 1857 to 1860; disorders which induced Governor Stewart to mobilize a portion of the militia and send a regularly organized expedition to the scene.

In his message to the Twenty-First General Assembly, January 3, 1861, (1) Governor Stewart quoted a telegram from Col. Snyder of November 20, 1860, announcing that "Montgomery has invaded Vernon county," and also the Gevernor's general instructions in reply, to make every effort under the recent Militia Act to protect the citizens. The text of the message dealt chiefly with the gravity of the situation and the impossibility of relying on the unorganized militia of the border, and the danger that, if organized, it would not respect the Territorial boundary.

As the sending of this force of St. Louis and Jefferson City militia, known as the Southwest Expedition, occasioned serious criticism in the Legislature and in the State, the "Documents in relation to Border Difficulties accompanying the Governor's message," (2) like the message itself, were intended to show the necessity of vigorous intervention. The documents selected consisted of a number of petitions, letters and dispatches, November 18 to November 28, from mass meetings, officials and individuals, calling for aid and protection; three reports from Col. Snyder, an unsigned summary of the disorders, and the report of Brig. Gen. Frost,

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1. Senate Journal 21 Sess. (27-29); House Journal, 21 Sess., 26-27.
2. Senate Journal, 21 Sess., App., (3-24); House Journal, 21 Sess., App. 3-24.

commanding the Southwest Expedition. Accompanying the last were four affidavits as to the hanging of James Russell Hines, one of the victims, and reports of a Southern Kansas Convention of Abolitionists.

The documents here reprinted are for the most part the day to day reports of Brig. Gen. Frost and Adjt. Gen. Parsons, giving the first impressions of competent observers. They furnish the details of the military operations and give a fresher and more detailed picture of the actual situation than the printed documents. The formal report of Adjt. Gen. Parsons should be compared with that of Brig. Gen. Frost.

It may be of interest to note that the two hundred men left behind by Brig. Gen. Frost (No. X) later formed the nucleus of the force organized at Camp Jackson, St. Louis, the dispersal of which by Gen. Lyon and Frank P. Blair was fatal to Governor Jackson's plan to carry Missouri out of the Union.

JONAS VILES.

I. BRIG. GEN. D. M. FROST TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Headquarters Southwest Expedition
Camp Gentry Nov. 27 1860

To His Excellency R M Stewart
Commander in Chief.

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that I arrived at Smithton on yesterday at 12 o'clock M. in the midst of a most disagreeable shower of rain which much interfered with and retarded the outfitting of my command; in consequence of which I have found it necessary to encamp my command within two and one half miles (the nearest water) of the Village and there remain during this day in order to distribute stores, load wagons, provide transportation and supply horses for the Artillery. After an immense amount of labor (which could only have been accomplished through the zeal and intelligence of every officer of the command) I am now prepared to start at daylight tomorrow on my march.

I have been much disappointed in finding that the companies that were supposed by your Excellency to be organized and ready to join me from Boonville and other points appear to have no existence, I am however consoled by the reflection that I have in the troops from St Louis and Jefferson City a force amply sufficient! in my opinion! when combined with a few irregulars (which I will doubtless be able to pick up) to accomplish all the objects of the Campaign. The reports I received from the disturbed district are so entirely conflicting that I am quite unable to increase in any respect the knowledge your Excellency already possesses, and from present appearances. I am well satisfied that only the actual presence of my Command upon the border will enable me to ascertain the real position of affairs.

That there have been very serious violations of law there can be no doubt, and I have been informed by what seemed good authority that it can be proved before any tribunal that the Territory of our State has been invaded by the outlaw Montgomery and his band and on one of our fellow citizens (1) taken into the neighboring Territory of Kansas and hanged, I have seen persons who have left the border through fear of their lives and have been informed by them that a great many others are doing likewise.

I therefore deem it expedient and proper in view of all the foregoing circumstances to prosecute my march to the borders of our state with all possible expedition consistent with the efficiency of my command. I will endeavor to keep your Excellency fully informed of all matters affecting the peace and good order of our frontier which your Excellency has shown you have so much at heart.

I am Sir Very Respectfully
Your Obedient Svt

D. M. FROST
Brig Gnl Commdy South West Expedition

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1. James Russell Hines. He was captured in Kansas Territory. See No. IX and the affidavits in "Documents accompanying the Governor's Message."

II. BRIG. GEN. D. M. FROST TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Head Quarters Southwest Expedition
Camp Stewart Nov 28 1860

To His Excellency R. M. Stewart
Commander in Chief

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that I took up my line of march this morning at sunrise from Camp Gentry with the troops from St Louis & Jefferson City not having been joined as yet by any others. I find the water in this section of the country extremely scarce and in consequence have had to make a march to-day of eighteen miles much too great a distance for the first day in the field. My command however were in excellent spirits and bore the fatigue like veterans, I shall by making a short march to-morrow gradually inure them to service.

Upon the authority of a reliable merchant of St. Louis who has just returned from Fort Scott and who met my command to-day I have the honor to inform you that Montgomery is at that place in possession of the town holding a Court by his own authority condemning persons whom he has arrested to be hung and otherwise punished, that he has made no raid as yet into the State of Missouri but two Citizens of the State whom he captured in Kansas have been put to death by his order (names not given) he believes Montgomery's command to be about one hundred men in the field.

I have nothing further to communicate to your Excellency at this time. I have the honor to remain

Very Respectfully
Your Obdt Svt
D. M. FROST
Brig Gen Commdy S W Expedition

III. INSTRUCTIONS TO ADJT. GEN. PARSONS.

(Copy.)

Executive Department.
Jefferson City, Nov 28, 1860

Genl. G. A. Parsons
Adjt. Genl. M. V. M.

Sir: Upon the receipt of these instructions you will repair with the least possible delay to the scene of troubles on the Southwestern border of our State and after consultation with Brig. Genl. D. M. Frost take all necessary measures to call out any additional force or countermand any orders to that effect as the necessity of the case may suggest

R. M. STEWART
Comdr. in Chief.

By order of
Jno. F. Tracey
Lt. Col & A. D. C.

IV. ADJT. GEN. PARSONS TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Papinville
Bates County
Dec 2nd 1860

R. M. Stewart,
Commander in Chief Mo Mi

Sir

I reached this place yesterday at 12 Oclock, I find there is a good deal of uneasiness among the good citizens of this place in regard to the condition of things in K. T. and along the line. Several of the Citizens are now in meeting making out a statement of facts in relation to the present troubles on their border their proceedings I shall send to Warsaw for publication as that paper will come out before the Examiner. (1)

You know I am no alarmist, but I am well satisfied that the Citizens of our State along the border have had just cause to apprehend violence on their persons and property

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1. Jefferson City Examiner.

by the K T outlaws in their recent outbreak. Things seem quiet now but how long it will last none can tell. There is yet evidently a seeming uneasiness and restlessness among the Citizens which is easily seen.

A man was shot down in his own house by this band last Monday night (his name is Bishop) I sent an express today to Genl. Harney (2) at the request of Genl. Frost. Harney is somewhere between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott.

I sent Esterbrook today to Butler the county seat of this county to get a Statement of facts from the Citizens there in regard to this outbreak, when received I will mail it to you I should of gone to Butler myself but being compelled to attend to the calls of the Citizens here (which is hourly) I found I could not get off in time to return tonight, tomorrow I shall visit Balls Mill and other places along the line & make this my head Quarters until Genl Frost arrives which will be Tuesday night or Wednesday sometime in the day.

Enclosed I send you a Petition from sundry citizens in Butler and its vicinity, I met Capt. Doak on his way to Jefferson at Clinton with it and turned him back. There I saw Judge Williams and had a conversation with him in regard to the Troubles in K. T. He is a District Judge there. He was compelled to flee to save his life There are several at this place who had to run to save their lives. I will keep you advised constant of things here as they transpire

Respectfully

G. A. PARSONS,
Adjt Gen Mo Mi.

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2. Commander of the United States troops in Kansas Territory.

V. ADJT. GEN. PARSONS TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

3 Oclock P. M.
Papinville
Dec 2nd 1860

R. M. Stewart
Commander in Chief
Sir

Since sealing the letter of this morning to you, I have just received what the people say here is reliable information from a gentleman who has just landed here from the Territory he says he left there for fear he might be hung up himself. He says those marauders say they have plenty of money arms and ammunition and can get what men they may want at any time they choose to call for them from the east. It is said that Montgomery in his public speeches openly proclaim that he intends first to drive out all his enemies from the Territory, and when that is done he intends to enter Missouri at different points and make a clean sweep of that. It is believed here that Montgomery will give Genl Harney a fight if he only has the 150 or 200 regulars that was at Fort Leavenworth. The excitement here is on the increase since morning owing to some K. T. men having run from the Territory and passing through this place and giving accounts of what is going on, to one who is not accustomed to hearing of murder arson and robbery their stories would be exciting in the extreme, but I have heard and seen so much of this Kansas trouble for the last 3 or 4 years that I am prepared to hear any thing.

There is one thing certain that we have plenty of troops already on their way to the border and I can see no reason for augmenting the force to a greater number at this time. It may become necessary before spring (and I believe it will) to station a considerable force on this line If reports be true as to Montgomerys Programm. Some say he can raise a force of one hundred thousand men and some say he can raise 140000 men of course he cannot get them in the Territory but from the East. I am told he has made his brags that he could raise the above number of men, but he has not got them now, "and sufficient for the day is the evil therof." I therefore think we have men enough in the field

Respectfully

G. A. PARSONS
Adjt Gen Mo Mi

VI. GOVERNOR STEWART TO COL. J. F. SNYDER.

(Copy.)

Head Quarters Com. in Chief
Jefferson City Dec 4 60

Col. J. F. Snider (1)
Division Inspector,
6th Military District M. O. M.
Bolivar Mo.

Being in receipt of your statements of the 20th and 26th (2) to the effect that Missouri has been invaded, I have sent an adequate force to protect our citizens and suppress all invasions of our State. Having full confidence in your representations as well as in the Military skill of Genl. D. M. Frost and the whole command I, as Commander in Chief am glad to know that those invaders have been dispersed; and in common with every patriot I congratulate myself together with the people of the State that for once in three years through the presence of our troops the citizens of our sparcely inhabited territory can enjoy a nights peace with-

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1. The folowing letter is self-explanatory. I have to thank Professor G. C. Broadhead for Colonel Snyder's address.

Virginia, Ill., Oct. 5th, 1907.

Jonas Viles:

Dear Sir: The "Reports" you refer to were written by me. I then resided in Bolivar, Polk Co., Mo., and was serving as Division Inspector of the 6th Military District of Missouri, with the rank of Colonel, by appointment of Governor Robert M. Stewart. When Camp Jackson was taken (at St. Louis) I joined Gen'l. Price and served with him for three years. Released from a Federal prison at Springfield, Mo., I returned to this, my native, State in the fall of 1864, and have since resided here. Have served as a member of the Illinois Legislature, and President of the Illinois State Historical Society.

I was born and raised in St. Clair county, Illinois, immediately opposite St. Louis, was educated in St. Louis, and resided in Bolivar, Mo., eight years preceding the Civil War.

Respectfully yours, etc.,

J. F. SNIDER.

2. Col. Snyder's reports of the 21st and 26th are printed in the "Documents accompanying the Governor's Message."

out danger to themselves and property from these lawless bandits

R. M. STEWART
Com. in Chief
M. V. M.

By order of
John T. Tracy,
Lt. Col & A. D. C.

VII. BRIG. GEN. D. M. FROST TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Head Quarters S. W. Expedition Mo
Camp Daniel Boone
December 5th 1860

Sir

I have the honor to report that having marched the Cavalry and Artillery of my command to the border, in the vicinity of Fort Scott and visiting that place in person, I ascertained that Montgomery and his band if organized, were at Mound City, Kansas Territory, and I have accordingly concentrated my forces on the Marais des Cygnes one mile and a half from our western boundary, and about twelve miles from Montgomery's Head Quarters, the nearest point to him, where a proper site for an encampment could be found in our own State. The Infantry Brigade which I had left behind joined me in an excellent condition, and have proved by their rapid marches that they are capable of performing any duty which could be required of that arm of the service.

Their hardihood, endurance and strict attention to duty cannot be too highly commended. As an instance of the efficiency of my Command and to show the thorough state of discipline and as an evidence of their good conduct, I would mention the fact, that I have not a single prisoner in charge of the Guard to-day.

Having now visited in person the disturbed district of our State, I am able to report to your Excellency, exactly the condition of affairs.

I find that orderly, industrious, and peaceable citizens have been warned to leave: or that they would be robbed and hung—many have deserted their homes taking with them their moveable property, abandoning their farms which can not now be sold, thus presenting the singular anomaly of a rich and fertile country sparsely settled, being rapidly depopulated instead of increasing in the number of its inhabitants—Many along our route have failed to treat us with ordinary civility for fear of incurring the displeasure of these Kansas outlaws and marauders.

The Site of our present camp is the abandoned lands, and near the store of a citizen, who but for these troubles would have been doing a thriving and prosperous business. his premises are now entirely and but yesterday deserted. The pecuniary losses are incalculable, lands which were, and should be worth from fifteen to twenty dollars an acre are now offered at five dollars and find no purchasers. This desolation can not be attributed to a failure of the crops, during the past dry season, for although they are small, I have found no difficulty in buying at reasonable rates forage for the animals of my Command, and we have found stock of every description in good condition, bearing evidence that there is **no famine.** In view of these facts, And in addition, that as soon as we turn our backs, these scenes will be reenacted to a greater degree, I deem that common Charity, for the outraged and oppressed citizens demands protection, even if we disregard and fail to defend the honor and dignity of our State.

I shall therefore, seek to co-operate with General Harney, who informed me that he intended to march to this point and capture all offenders (but who has not yet arrived,) and thereby restore tranquility along the frontier for a time. Still believing that this relief will be but temporary, and that the interest and honor of the State demands permanent protection, I shall, unless otherwise ordered, proceed at once to organize and equip a force of two hundred men, and mount them to render them servicable, Such a force stationed at proper points, I am well satisfied will be able to restore confidence and establish a permanent peace on our border; without it anarchy will reign whilst the present population of Kansas exists—

Trusting that your Excellency will sanction the measure I propose

I have the honor to be
Very respectfully
Your Obt Servt
D. M. FROST,
Brig. Genl. Comdy.
S. W. Expedition.

To
His Excellency
R. M. Stewart
Commander in Chief.

VIII. BRIG. GEN. D. M. FROST TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Head Quarters South West Expedition
Camp Daniel Boone December 8th 1860

To His Excellency R M Stewart
Commander in Chief
Sir

Since my last communication to your Excellency I have had Scouts out in the Territory and along the Border and regret to inform your Excellency that Montgomery and his band of marauders have sought Safety by disbanding and Scattering over the Country, in Consequence of which I shall be unable to meet and punish them as they deserve. Having now no organized enemy of our State before us I deem it unnecessary to retain my whole command on the frontier; as however the enemies of the institutions of our State, and the disturbers of our peace Still exist, armed and Equipped with the best arms that money can procure, actuated by the Same lawless Spirit that has hitherto led them on, and who can be called together at an instants notice from their chief, I reiterate what

I stated in my last that the dignity of the State and welfare of all the people along this border, imperatively demands armed protection: I have therefore taken steps to organize a special force of three Companies of Cavalry and a Battery of Artillery (Volunteers from my Command) to remain at or in the vicinity of the County Seat of Bates County and at Balls Mills in Vernon County, from these points fifty miles of our State line opposite Bourbon and Linn Counties in Kansas can be thoroughly and almost daily patrolled. I propose to place in command of these companies none but intelligent and reliable officers and retaining the General Command myself to leave my Adgt Genl Col Jno S Bowen (a distinguished educated Soldier and accomplished Gentleman) in the immediate charge of this force.

By adopting this Course the whole South West will be immediately and greatly benefitted, perfect security to person and property will exist, lands will regain their former Value (now offered at onefourth the price asked three years ago) Settlers will be enabled to return to their homes, the people will recover from the terrorism that now reigns, and one of the fairest portions of our State will be reopened to peaceful and orderly immigrants. If however your Evcellency should see proper to disapprove of the Course I have marked out, and the forces be withdrawn, that I have organized then indeed will gloom settle over this portion of our land and anarchy and murder will reign triumphant.

In order to avoid all unnecessary expense to the State I propose despatching the residue of my force not required for the foregoing object on their return march to St. Louis and Jefferson City on Monday next and will report to your Excellency in person as soon thereafter as practicable.

I am Sir

Your most obdt Svt

D. M. FROST

Brig Genl Commanding South West Expedition

IX. REPORT OF ADJT. GEN. PARSONS TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Office of the Adjutant Genera[l]
Of the State of Missouri
City of Jefferson
December 8th 1860

His Excellency
Robert M Stewart
Commander in Chief of the
Missouri Volunteer Militia
Sir

In obedience to orders from Head Quarters no ——, dated November 28th 1860 (a copy of which is hereto appended), I proceeded forthwith upon the receipt of the same to the South Western border of the state, the scene of the present disturbances.

En route I called upon Brigadier General Frost commanding general of the forces in the field, and after consultation with him I continued my tour to Papinville in Bates County where after careful inquiries of the most reliable and respectable citizens of that county and of the county of Vernon, I have ascertained the following to be substantially the causes of the present disturbed condition of our South Western frontier,

Three or four weeks since a band of marauders of Kansas Territory under the guidance of one James Montgomery and C K Jennison hung Russell Hines a citizen of this State while on a visit to his mother who resides in Kansas near our State line. It seems he was murdered for assisting in the Capture of a fugitive slave in the Territory of Kansas, which slave was the property of a Citizen of Bates county..

That about the 18th day of November last this lawless band entered the residence of Samuel Scott formerly sheriff of Bates County, but who at the time last above mentioned resided in Linn County, Kansas, and murdered him by hanging him by the neck.

That since these desperadoes have murdered the following named Citizens residents of Bourbon and Linn Counties Kansas, towit S. D. Moore, Messrs Smith and Bishop, no cause has been ascertained for the last mentioned murders.

They have threatened with violence the Citizens generally on the border who oppose their lawless acts.

They have recently stolen and carried away two slaves from Bates County the property of the estate of Alfred Cary deceased and now hold them at Mound City Kansas Territory and defy all civil or Military power to recapture or restore them.

They have frequently entered the confines of the state for violent and unlawful purposes, and

They have threatened the invasion of South West Missouri for the purpose of carrying away the slaves and declare their acts and plans of operation are sanctioned by leading and prominent friends of the incoming national administration.

I found the citizens on the border in a state of alarm, many having removed their families and property into the interior for safety. Good citizens of Kansas territory have also fled from their homes and come into the state for protection.

The marauding force from the best information I could obtain amounts to about three hundred mounted men well armed and (equip)ped.

The prompt action of Your (Ex)cellency in sending armed relie(f) to our citizens thus threatened with arson and death wil(l) I doubt not have the effect to sp(eedily) restore order quiet and safety, the approach of the troops has already caused these outlaws to disperse and hide themselves in the Territory of Kansas

On my arrival at Papinvill(e) I was informed that Company B mounted Capt Doake and Compa(ny) D, mounted Capt McCool by authority of previous orders were rea(dy) for the field, not deeming their services necessary, I on the 2nd day of December countermanded the orders of Capt Doake and on the 4th of December those of Capt McCool. I do not deem it necessary to call any more troops into the service, as authorized by my instructions, considering the force already on the march amply sufficient for the campaign.

It is unnecessary for me to report to your Excellency upon the propriety of retaining a portion of the troops on the frontier after peace is restored, as specific suggestions on that point will no doubt be communicated to you by the Commanding General.

I may also state that I found our troops well armed and equipped and well supplied with ammunition clothing and provisions. The health of the Command is excellent, the discipline and bearing of the officers and soldiers reflect honor on themselves and the state whose rights they have been commissioned to defend. I cannot content myself to close this report without special mention of the accomplished and energetic Commander of the expedition Genl Frost; To him I am greatly indebted for the speedy despatch of the duties required by my instructions, besides being under obligations to him for his personal favors and polite attention

I have the honor to be
Very respectfully
Your Obt Servt

G. A. PARSONS
Adjt. Genl Mo Mi

P. S. I herewith further return to your Excellency the costs attending my mission under the foregoing orders towit

Nov. 28	Smithton	Hotel bill	2.50
“ 29	Belmont	do	3.00
“ 30	Stewarts	do	2.50
Dec 2	Butler	do	1.00
“ 4	Papinville	do	12.50
“ 5	Hewill Lewis	do	2.50
“ 7	Smithton	do	3.75
Hack Hire			32.00
Stationary			.50
Services for self			200.00
do	Maj Estabrook		50.00
			$310.25

Upon the receipt of my orders I deemed it necessary to take with me Maj James Estabrook, who by his industry and energy, greatly facilitated the rapid despatch of the business of my mission. I respectfully hope your Excellency will allow him fair conpensation for his services

Respectfully

G. A. PARSONS
Adjt Genl Mo Mi (1)

X. INSTRUCTIONS TO BRIG. GEN. D. M. FROST.

(Copy)

Head Quarters
Com. in Chief
M. V. M.
Executive Department
Jefferson City, Dec. 10th, 1860.

Brig Genl. D. M. Frost
Comdg South West Expedtn
Camp Daniel Boone

Sir:

In reply to yours of 5c Instant and referring to my general orders bearing date Nov. 25c 1860 I hereby order you, if the exigencies of the case in your opinion require it to station Two Hundred (200) men on the Border of this State with such equipment as in your opinion will protect the citizens of the invaded district from the wanton and murderous attacks of the outlaws and bandits preying upon the peaceable and law abiding people of Missouri:

After having detailed if necessary that force the balance of the command will report forthwith at these Head Quarters.

By order of
Jno. T. Tracy
Lt Col & A. D. C.

R. M. STEWART
Com in Chief

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1. The manuscript is slightly mutilated.

XI. REPORT OF COL. J. F. SNYDER.

Headquarters 6th Mil. Dist. Mo. V. M.
Bolivar, Mo., Dec. 12th, 1860.

Gov. R. M. Stewart
Commander-in-Chief Mo. V. Militia
Jefferson City, Mo.

Sir;

I have the honor to report that for twenty-one days past I have been, by your special orders, upon the border, exerting my utmost endeavors towards effecting a thorough organization of the militia in the Counties of Bates, Vernon, and Barton. Having no arms or ammunition in this district, I have at no time considered it necessary to call any company of my district into the field for the defense of our citizens

The presence of Gen. Frosts' command in my district and the effective steps that distinguished officer has taken to give peace and security to our border citizens, rendered my services in the field no longer necessary.

I take pleasure in assuring you that all is quiet on our frontier, and that the militia of this district have both the will and the ability to protect themselves, if the State will but furnish them the munitions of war.

I can add nothing to the suggestions I have heretofore made; if arms and ammunition are not furnished the organized companies on my district, we must of course still continue at the mercy of the outlaws of Kansas, or look to your Excellency to keep an armed force continually upon the frontier; but with the proper means of defense we can well take care of ourselves, and protect the State from invasion, at a comparative small cost.

With respect, &c
Your obedient Servant
J. F. SNIDER
Div. Inspector of 6th Mil dist
of Mo. Militia

TOWN OF OSAGE. *

The undersigned have laid off a **town**, on a large and liberal plan, at the confluence of the Osage and Missouri rivers, and bestowed upon it the name of the former. It lies in the immediate fork of the two rivers, the junction of which is nearly at right angles, and will have a front street on the margin of each, a mile in length—the whole plan is liberal; the streets wide; and large squares left in different places, for buildings of public use and convenience.

The geographical position of this town presents striking advantages: the Osage and Missouri unite in the latitude of 38 degrees 22 minutes, about half way between the mouth of the Kansas and the mouth of the Missouri; the mouth of the Kansas is the proposed western boundary of the State of Missouri—the Mississippi the eastern boundary—the scite of the town is therefore near the center of the proposed State on the line east and west. On the line north and south * * * * So near the territorial center, it will naturally be made the center of communication by the confluence of the rivers which unite there. Reference to a map will show its position as stated, and demonstrate the fairness of its change (chance) to become as well, a place of commerce, as the seat of government for the future State of Missouri.

It will certainly share the commerce of two great rivers; that of the Missouri, which drains a world; and that of Osage, which is navigable six hundred miles; and draws a part of its water from points further south than the Chic--asaw Bluffs on the river Mississippi.

The Osage river will furnish the cotton planting country of the Missouri State and will be more favorable to the growth of that article than places in the same latitude on the east side of the Mississippi; owing to the superior warmth and dryness of the atmosphere, occasioned by the plains of naked sand which lay to the west of the Kansas and Platte rivers, and which have the natural effect of absorbing moisture and giving heat and dryness to the air. Upon the Osage is rare and valuable timber for building, as cedar and pine, besides the wood common to the Missouri; also vast prairies, or natural meadows, for the grazing of cattle; and large bodies of exceedingly rich and fertile land; part of which is now prepared for market.

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* An advertisement copied from the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser of June 4, 1819, and subsequent numbers.

The local position of the town of Osage is also excellent, lying in the immediate fork of the rivers, its scite is preferable to any situation on either side; the bank of the Missouri front is of rock; on the Osage front of firm ground, like the banks of the Ohio; the whole town plot and neighboring country is entirely free from inundation, and sufficiently uneven to give that variety of prospect which is so agreeable to the eye, and the different elevations for buildings which are so conducive to the health and cleanliness of a town.

The town of **Osage** will have one advantage, almost peculiar to itself, **the advantage of a harbor for the secure anchorage of steam boats, barges, and vessels engaged in its trade**—the Missouri river has but few places capable of barboring a vessel; and those which anchor in its rapid current are exposed to great danger from floating ice in the winter; the mouth of the Osage is deep, gentle, entirely sheltered from the Missouri ice, and comparatively free from any of its own, owing to the southern sources from which its waters are drawn; the mouth of the Osage river is therefore a secure harbor to vessels engaged in trade at the Osage town.

The healthiness of the situation requires no comment. Both the Missouri and the Osage are famed for the salubrity of their banks, and of the countries through which they flow.

A part of the lots in the above town will be offered for sale at auction in St. Louis, on the 19th day of June next;

and at Franklin, Howard county, on the 13th day of July next.

Terms of sale—six, twelve, eighteen and twenty-four months.

ANGUS LEWIS LANGHANS,
WILLIAM RECTOR,
ALEXANDER M'NAIR,
SAMUEL HAMMOND,
RICHARD GENTRY,
THOMAS RECTOR,
TALBTRT CHAMBERS,
J. M'GUNNEGLE,
HENRY W. CONWAY,
SAMUEL T. BEALL,
STEPHEN GLASCOCK,
THOMAS H. BENTON,
Proprietors.

St. Louis, May 20, 1819.

NOTES.

Soldiers of the Civil War—The Legislature of Wisconsin provided for the appointment of a Commission for the purpose of devising a plan to provide for the preparation of the "History of Wisconsin Soldiers in the Civil War."

A report of the Commission gives a list of twenty-five separate publications containing records of particular regiments. As Missouri had its full quota of regiments in the Union army and about an equal number in the Confederate army, it might be expected that there would be a larger number of publications of the regiments of this State, but there are very few, a half dozen or less. This fact would seem to emphasize the necessity for a Commission in this State with similar object to that of the Wisconsin Commission.

Soldiers of the Revolution. It is not generally known that a soldier of the Revolution, who fought under General Washington, formerly lived in Lawrence County, and that his remains are buried in a little neglected graveyard north of Mount Vernon. His name was William Lambley, and in an early day he entered eighty acres of land in Turnback bottom and built a small grist mill, where he lived until his death. In 1876 a Fourth of July celebration was held near his grave and $50 raised to mark his resting place. A stone wall was built around the grave, and the two stones from his old mill placed at the head and foot as monuments. If there is another soldier of the Revolution buried in Southern Missouri, we have never heard of it.—Mount Vernon Chieftain, August, 1907.

NECROLOGY.

James Clements was born in Dublin, Ireland, August 13, 1819, and at the age of 16 was the newspaper correspondent of the London Times at Brussels, Belgium. He was an intimate friend and companion of Charles Dickens; an associate and later the biographer of Douglas Gerald; also the associate of Thackeray, Leigh Hunt, Charles Lever, and the other writers of London during the period from 1830 to 1858, at which time he came to this country.

In 1861 he published the Missouri State Journal in St. Louis, was connected with the Missouri Republican, and later edited the Guardian, a Catholic weekly journal. He was professor of French in the St. Louis University, and while thus engaged he published a translation from the French language of a history of the Jesuit Order. For several terms he was recorder of deeds in St. Louis. He died in that city October 3, 1907.

Judge Noah M. Given was born in Dearborn County, Indiana, December 1, 1840, and came to Harrisonville in 1866, where he practiced law, and served nine years as circuit judge. Since 1902 he was president of the Citizen's National Bank at Harrisonville. He had been the ruling spirit of the Masonic Home since its establishment in 1886, and was the president of the Board of Directors. He was a thirty-second degree Mason, and a past grand officer in all the branches of Masonry, by which fraternity he was buried.

Judge Given was an active Baptist, and for years was the moderator of the Blue River Baptist Association, having been re-elected but a few weeks ago. He was also supreme reporter of the Knights of Honor. He died in St. Louis October 3, from congestion of the brain, and was buried at Harrisonville.

Hon. Henry J. Spaunhorst was born January 10, 1828, near Osnabruck, Prussia. His parents came to this country when he was seven years of age, and to St. Louis in 1837, afterwards moving to Union, in Franklin County, and then to Washington, Mo.

For twenty-five years he was member of a wholesale grocery firm, and was in official positions in several banking and insurance companies. In 1873 he was elected president of the German Roman Catholic Central Society of the United States, which position he held until 1891, and was then elected honorary president for life. He organized the company publishing Amerika, and for some years was its president. He was connected with various benevolent societies of St. Louis. He was a member of the Senate in the Twenty Fourth and Twenty-Fifth General Assemblies, 1867-1869, and in 1881 was appointed Labor Commissioner by Gov. Crittenden.

REVIEW OF BOOKS.

A History of Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas. Being an account of the early settlements, the Civil War the Ku-Klux, and times of peace. By **William Monks,** West Plains, Mo. (West Plains, West Plains Journal Co., 1907. Pp 247, ills.)

The author with his father's family settled in Arkansas, about 25 miles from where West Plains is now located. In plain and homely language he tells of the customs, habits, dress and mode of life of the early days in Arkansas and in Missouri.

Much of the book is taken up with the author's personal experiences during the war, in the southern part of the State of Missouri, Col. Monks having adhered to the Union cause.

F. A. S.

MISSOURI STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY.

OFFICERS.

E. M. Violette, Kirksville, Chairman.
Anna Gilday, Kansas City, Secretary.

EDITORS.

Eugene Fair, Kirksville.
State Editor.

N. M. Trenholme, Columbia.
Local Editor

SUBSCRIBE FOR THE REVIEW.

With this number the Missouri Historical Review enters on the second year of its existence. It has filled a want by supplying a journal in which questions of State history are interestingly treated and, through affiliation with the Department of History of the State Teachers' Association, it has begun to meet the practical needs of history teachers throughout the State. It is the hope of the editors of this section of the Review that the forthcoming year will see a large increase in the number of subscribers to the State Historical Society and the Review and that the needs of teachers will be met more satisfactorily than ever before. It should be remembered that at the Moberly meeting of the State Teachers' Association the Review was adopted as the official organ of the Department of History and the support of the members of the section was pledged to it. There are still many of those who were present at Moberly who are not subscribers to their official organ and it is to these teachers particularly that this editorial is addressed. We hope, however, that all teachers of history in the State who are interested in their work and in the subject they teach will help us by becoming subscribers.

SHALL WE HAVE A QUESTION BOX?

It has been suggested that a good feature of this department of the Review would be a Question Box through which perplexing questions relating to the study and teaching of history in schools could be answered. There are constantly coming up for solution difficult questions as to methods, collateral reading and references, text-books and so forth and these editors would be glad to have presented and would attempt to answer satisfactorily. The question is therefore presented—shall we have a Question Box? We would be glad to hear from our readers on this subject. Address communications to the Local Editor, Professor N. M. Trenholme, Columbia, Mo. If there is sufficient demand for such a department it will begin in the next number of the Review.

THE MEETING AT JOPLIN.

The next meeting of the State Teachers' Association will be held at Joplin Dec. 26-28, and interesting general and special programmes are being arranged. The programme for the Department of History is in charge of Professor E. M. Violette of Kirksville, and he is sure to provide a series of valuable papers and discussions. The history people have been showing up strongly at recent meetings and should turn out in large numbers for the meeting this year. These meetings are the only means we have of getting together for exchange of experiences and mutual help and improvement, and it is a mistake not to take advantage of such opportunity. Let everyone who can possibly afford it and can arrange to do so turn up at Joplin on the twenty-sixth of December.

BETTER TRAINED TEACHERS.

With the opening of a new school year our attention is naturally drawn to the great improvement that has taken place in regard to history teaching in this State. Never have we had such a large number of enthusiastic and well trained teachers in our high schools. Nearly every high school teacher in the State is a graduate of one of the State Normals or of the University. Most of them have specialized in history and are well equipped with the necessary knowledge of the subject and with methods of imparting it to their pupils. We hope in the near future to be able to publish an article showing the great improvement as regards preparation that has taken place among the history teaching profession in the State and particularly in high schools.

SCHOOL LIBRARIES.

This is the time of year when history teachers should overhaul their library of reference books and plan for additions to the number of books available for collateral reading. A very small expenditure will bring most libraries up to date and increase their usefulness. Particular effort should be made to provide duplicate copies of the most used books rather than too great variety of less valuable works. If the school board will not supply an adequate number of reference works the difficulty can sometimes be solved by raising money in other ways. Sometimes pupils will be willing to subscribe for a small class library for reference use, sometimes money for books can be made by an entertainment or other means resorted to by the teacher and pupils. The important thing is to get the books and then use them to the fullest possible advantage. Do not keep them locked up all the time, and as far as possible make them accessible to the pupils so that they may not learn their history from the text-books alone. The function of a reference library in history is to supplement the text-book and teach the student that the text-book is but a part of the work and that there is much of value outside its covers. Too often both teacher and pupils come to depend absolutely on the text-book and for this attitude of mind the best corrective is the possession and use of a good up-to-date reference library. The Review is printing each month a list of reference books in history.

BOOKS IN ANCIENT HISTORY.

A Source Book of Greek History. By **Fred Morrow Fling,** Ph. D., Professor of European History in the University of Nebraska. (Boston. D. C. Heath & Co. 1907. Pp vii, 370.)

Professor Fling has long been known as an enthusiastic advocate of source study and many teachers are already familiar with his leaflets containing extracts from the sources for Ancient History. He now comes forward as the editor of a new and revised collection in book form of interesting passages from the chief Greek authors. In a very characteristic preface Professor Fling discusses the use and value of sources and gives some sensible advice as to how to get the most benefit from source study, and teachers would do well to study this part of the book carefully before attempting to make use of the extracts that follow.

The main part of the Source Book consists of translated extracts from Greek sources arranged under thirteen general heads beginning with ''Primitive Greek Society'' and ending with ''The Achaean League.'' In addition there are two Appendixes one dealing with the writers cited and the other consisting of remarks and questions on the illustrations. The arrangement of topics and sub-topics is excellent throughout the work and the questions on both the source extracts and on the well selected illustrations are helpful and stimulating. The chief criticism to be made of the work as a whole is its failure to keep pace with recent scholarship in Greek History in that it omits all inscriptional material and admits a good deal of doubtful value and authenticity from Plutarch and Herodotus. The study of Ancient History cannot be expected to advance unless there is constant criticism and unless constant use is made of new discoveries and developments. We cannot help but feel that a little critical apparatus in the way of notes or commentary on some of the extracts would have been of value to the body of the text. In this respect Fling's Source Book is lacking as is the companion Source Book for Roman History edited by Professor Munro of Wisconsin.

In spite of the drawbacks noted above teachers of Ancient History will welcome this work and can make good use of it for collateral reading and source study and illustration. Its moderate price, handy size, clear type, excellent illustrations and useful index will commend it strongly for use in schools and colleges.

BOOKS ON MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY,

Medieval Civilization. .Selected Studies from European Authors. By **Dana Carlton Munro** and **George Clark Sellery.** (New York: The Century Co. 1907.)

This is a new and enlarged edition of an already well known and deservedly popular reference work. It contains a large number of interesting and scholarly selections from French and German writers excellently translated and well adapted for the use of students. The wise plan has been followed in this new edition of adding new matter to the old thus preserving the paging of the original edition. Among the new extracts that appear is a valuable sketch of Gerbert of Rheims, Pope Sylvester II, from the preface of Havet's edition of Gerbert's Letters, and there also appear articles on St. Bernard of Clairvaux and on St. Louis of France by Luchaire and Langlois respectivly, the latter also supplying the material for the extract dealing with "The Intellectual Movement of the Thirteenth Century." The transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance is well indicated by an extract from Gebhardt entitled "Antecedents of the Renaissance," one from Neumann on the "Relation of Antiquity to the Renaissance," and, finally, one from Roloff on the "French Army in the Time of Charles VII." Teachers of medieval and modern history will find the enlarged edition of great value in their work on account of the new extracts added.

A well arranged list of writers drawn from and their works together with a satisfactory index are appended to the volume.

A Syllabus for the History of Western Europe. With References and Review Questions. (Based on Robinson's "Introduction to the History of Western Europe.") By **Norman Maclaren Trenhomle,** Professor of History in the University of Missouri. Part I. The Middle Ages. (Boston, New York, Chicago. Ginn & Co. 1907. Pp. vii, 80.)

Reference Studies in Medieval History. By **James Westfall Thompson,** Department of History, **University of Chicago.** (Chicago. 1907. Pp. 130.)

The number of outlines and syllabi for medieval history is constantly increasing. Teachers are now familiar with Munro's, Richardson's, that of the New England History Teachers' Association and others of less note. As a rule, however, such syllabi are difficult to use on account of being the basis of special lecture courses of an advanced character. Professor Trenholme's new Syllabus aims to avoid this difficulty by carefully following the topics in Robinson's "History of Western Europe," and the same author's "Readings in European History." Forty topics are thus outlined in Part 1, dealing with the Middle Ages and after each topic a list of collateral references is given, while after every group of five or six topics there are Review Questions. The outlines have been carefully prepared, the references are not too advanced for high school and college pupils, and the book is excellently printed and bound. It should prove a helpful companion to Robinson's popular text.

Professor J. W. Thompson of the Department of History of Chicago University has brought out an exceedingly useful syllabus of topics and references for medieval history. It contains general and special reading lists on almost every important topic in the field. The references are to material in English and in English reviews of foreign works. In compiling these lists Professor Thompson has made use of various syllabi for the period and of his own extensive bibliographical knowledge. One very desirable feature is a list of historical atlases and of maps for particular periods and movements. At the end of the Studies are lists of medieval rulers in church and state and a table of important dates. We have no hesitation in saying that this work will be much appreciated by teachers and students of medieval history.

A Political History of Modern Europe from the Reformation to the Present Day. With Sixteen Genealogical Tables and Twenty-two Maps. By **Ferdinand Schwill, Ph. D.** Assistant Professor of Modern History in the University of Chicago. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1907. Pp. xvi, 607.)

This is a new and much enlarged edition of Professor Schwill's well known text-book on the "History of Modern Europe." Many portions have been entirely rewritten and much new matter added thus making the present volume about one hundred and fifty pages longer than the old one. The bibliographies are given at the beginning of the chapters instead of at the end and the useful maps of the first edition have been made more usable by being placed in proper relation with the text and certain new ones added. The net result of these and other changes has been to greatly improve the book and it will no doubt take its place as the standard one volume sketch of the political development of Modern Europe. Its clear style, excellent arrangement of topics, and critical references and apparatus make it a model text or reference work.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

An Introduction to the English Historians. By **Charles A. Beard, Ph. D.,** Lecturer in History and Political Science, Columbia University. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1906. Pp. xi, 669.)

This work, which appeared towards the close of last year, will commend itself to teachers and students as a valuable reference book. The purpose of he author is to provide a reading book for students made up of selections from the great English historians. These selections are skillfully arranged under topical chapter headings and in their entirety form a fairly complete survey of the more important questions in general English history. There will be differences of opinion, of course, as to the wisdom of some of Dr. Beard's selections, but any fair minded critic will admit that the task he undertook was a most difficult one and that the selections are as a rule excellent ones for purposes of collateral reading and study. It is to be regretted that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were passed over so hurriedly when so much of an important transitional character took place during them and we might not have felt the loss greatly if Dr. Beard had omitted some of the extracts in connection with the English Reformation. The best parts of the book for reference purposes are undoubtedly the first two sections and the last three in which the editor has been particularly fortunate in his selections. We would like to see him edit a separate volume for Modern English history in which the selections he was forced to omit, on acount of space, could appear and Part IX on "The Empire in the Nineteenth Century" could be made more complete. N. M. T.

AMERICAN HISTORY.

History of the United States. By **Henry William Elson.** (New York: The Macmilan Co. 1904. Pp. xxxii,, 911.)

School History of the United States. By **Henry William Elson. (New York:** The Macmillan Co. 1906. Pp. xxviii 491.)

The task Mr. Elson has set himself in his larger work is to write a single volume History of the United States, intermediate between the elementary histories and the text-books; a volume which shall combine "the science of historical research with the art of historical composition." The preface, indeed, outlines a plan very similar to that of Green's "Short History of the English People." Such a volume on American History is sorely needed, and any serious attempt to produce it deserves respectful attention. It is because Mr. Elson has made such an earnest, honest attempt that one closes the book with regret rather than with irritation.

The chief defect of the book is far more serious than any failure to produce a work of literary art. The author, in spite of his very evident and very honest endeavor to tell the truth, seems quite lacking in historical spirit, quite untrained in "the science of historical research." A few instances may be given as characteristic of his methods. The arrangement of the bibliography and the use of authorities show little discrimination in the relative value of printed books. Fiske is grouped with Adams, Parkman and Rhodes, as a scientific historian, a great injustice to Fiske himself. Parton's anecdotes of Andrew Jackson are accepted without question and given at length. The same lack of critical attitude is almost naively evident in the Pocahontas controversy. The only ground for doubting the story is Smith's well known spirit of boasting and the fact that the story is not mentioned in Smith's first account of his capture, while the fact that similar incidents occurred among other Indian tribes is an "almost conclusive" proof of Smith's truthfulness! Controverted questions, often needlessly but conscientiously included, are more than once settled one way in the text and quite differently in the foot note. Needless to say, the general result is many mistakes and misinterpretations.

In fact, Mr. Elson has set himself a tremendously difficult task for which he was not altogether equipped. The book remains, however, the best single volume covering the entire period. Its tone is eminently fair, the confidence in and the enthusiasm for American ideals is healthy and refreshing and seldom obtrusive. The discussions of the causes of the American Revolution and of the Civil War are sane, moderate, and intelligent. The general reader who finishes the volume will gain an impression of the course of American History that is correct on the whole, but some hazy and confused outlines, and sometimes incorrect in detail.

The School History also is written with the avowed purpose of stimulating interest. The faults of the larger book are apparent to a less degree. There is too much attention to mere anecdote and to the narrative and not enough to development and to institutions. As a text-book it belongs to the same class with Barnes and Montgomery, and can hardly hope to displace the more modern books. The bibliographies and references are distinctly unsatisfactory.

J. V.

CIVICS.

Civil Government, Local, State and National. By **Isidor Loeb, L. L. B., Ph. D.,** and **The History of Missouri,** by **Walter Williams,** Editor of the "Columbia, Missouri, Herald," and "The State of Missouri." (Carrollton, Mo., Democrat Printing Co. 1907. Pp. VII, 115, 154.)

For some time past there has been a pressing demand for a new Civil Government and History of Missouri for use in the public schools of this State. It is fortunate, therefore, that the task of supplying a new text has fallen into such capable hands as those of Professor Loeb and Mr. Walter Williams and they are to be commended for the careful and scholarly way in which they have handled their respective fields.

The first part of the book, on Civil Government, presents in its plan of treatment and method of presentation an example of how the government of the State and nation should be taught and studied in our schools. It proceeds from the familiar to the unfamiliar aspects of government and in its clear and simple presentation of the essential facts of local, State and national government it is a model text-book of its kind. All citizens of Missouri would profit from a perusal of its pages which contain not only a clear outline of facts in regard to the American government, but much also of the theory of State and of why good, honest and clean government is better than graft and corruption. Professor Loeb's manual has purpose and meaning to it and will exert a most beneficial influence on the minds of pupils and teachers and this is because it is written by a real teacher of government who understands the important educational aspects of his subject.

The second part of the book is given up to a sketch of the History of Missouri from the pen of the brilliant editor of the Columbia, Missouri, Herald. Whatever Mr. Walter Williams writes is interesting and his enrolling in the ranks of historians is gratifying to all professional history men. His account of the history of the State will do him no discredit though all the points he makes and the arrangement of his history may not meet with universal approval. Mr. Williams has an eye for the picturesque in history and his appeal is generally made to the imaginations of his readers rather than their reasons. He is consequently somewhat apt to ignore the law of cause and effect and of unity and continuity in historical progress and to fall into brilliant but purely factual narration of events without heed to the whence and wherefore.

Mr. Williams' story of the State is divided into three parts. The first part relates briefly and picturesquely, in two chapters, the doings of Spanish and French explorers and the character and extent of their settlements. Then follow a group of seven chapters dealing with the history and civilization of Missouri as a territory forming Part II of the History. The main part of the book, however, is comprised by the hundred pages dealing with "Missouri as a State," which, divided into fifteen chapters, make up Part III. In this portion of his sketch Mr. Williams gives a most interesting survey of Missouri political history since 1820. His account of the great public men of Missouri is especially illuminating but if anything too many names and dates crowd the pages and school children will find many parts of it hard to study.

The general style and appearance of the book commend it to teachers for it is attractively bound and is printed by Buxton and Skinner, of St. Louis, on excellent paper. It is to be regretted, however, that no index for either the Civil Government or History is provided although this is a less serious omission in a grade school book than it would be in the case of a high school text.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The University of Missouri has suffered a severe loss in the departure of Dr. A. Ross Hill, who for three years was the efficient head of its Teachers' College. Dr. Hill was always interested in the teaching of History in the state and did much to encourage better training of teachers and higher professional ideals. The Department of History of the State Teachers' Association wish him success in his new field of work at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. In addition to Dr. Hill the University has lost Dr. Frank P. Graves, Professor of the History of Education, who has accepted a professorship at the Ohio State University. The positions left vacant by Professors Hill and Graves have been temporarily filled by the appointment of Dr. Charters, from the Winona, Wis., Normal School, and of Professor Whipple, from Cornell University. The work in the History of Education is being directed by Professor Coursault, while Professor Meriam is acting dean of the Teachers' College, which is having a very prosperous year with largely increased enrollment.

A number of important changes have taken place in the History staffs of the different institutions in the State. Some of these were noted last spring but others have developed since. At the University Mr. Gromer's position as Instructor in American History has been filled by the appointment of Dr. F. F. Stephens from the University of Pennsylvania; Mr. C. C. Eckhardt has returned from his year's leave of absence, which he spent at Cornell University earning his Ph. D. degree, and has stepped into his old position as Instructor in Modern European History; Mr. E. V. Vaughn has been promoted to an instructorship in English and European History and an additional instructor has been appointed in the same field in the person of Mr. Clarence Perkins from Harvard University. There are over five hundred students enrolled in History at the University. The teaching staff now numbers six of the rank of instructor or higher, and some twenty-five classes are organized.

At the Kirksville Normal School Professor Violette has returned from his year's leave of absence and taken his place as head of the work in European History. The school regretted greatly not being able to add Professor Violette's substitute, Dr. Pooley, to the teaching staff in History. Dr. Pooley after being appointed in the University of Missouri decided to accept a professorship at the University of South Dakota where he was offered an attractive salary and a most responsible position. The enrollment in all departments at Kirksville is large and as usual the History Department is well to the front.

Reports from Springfield indicate a prosperous year for the new Normal located there. Professor B. M. Anderson is ambitious and aggressive in his work and is entering the field of Extension work with courses on American History and Education to be given at Carthage, Mo., during the coming winter.

The local editor is in receipt of copies of the Proceedings of the North Central History Teachers' Association at Chicago last March. This contains a number of interesting and valuable papers chief among which might be mentioned Professor Channing's address on the "Teaching of American History in Schools and Colleges," and Professor McLaughlin's very valuable discussion of this address. Numerous other papers are printed and the Proceedings are well worth having. Members of the North Central History Teachers' Association besides receiving their own society's proceedings also get those of the New England History Teachers' Association and of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, three valuable sets of papers in one year. The annual meeting of the North Central History Teachers' Association will be held at Chicago at the end of March, 1908. The dues in the association, entitling to membership and to the three reports mentioned above, are but one dollar. The local editor, Professor N. M. Trenholme, is a member of the Executive Committee of the Association, and any history teacher in the State who would like to join should communicate with him.

The annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., December 27-31, 1907, in conjunction with the Economic, Political Science and Sociological Associations. According to the current number of the American Historical Review there will be "sessions devoted to American economic history, to the European History of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to Western History, American and Canadian. There will be a conferenc of state and local historical societies, and one on the relations of history and geography. There will also be six simultaneous informal conferences of workers in mediaeval, modern European, Oriental, American colonial and American constitutional history, and in the history of the United States since 1865." This promises a most interesting programme of papers and conferences and it is to be hoped that as many Missouri representatives as possible will go to Madison.

The October number of the American Historical Review has come to hand but does not contain the usual number of interesting articles. The most important articles are two relating to American History, one by A. S. Salley, Jr., entitled, "The Mecklenburg Declaration: the Present Status of the Question," and the other by Max Farrand on "The Records of the Federal Convention." There are a number of interesting reviews and book notes and the usual historical gossip in the Notes and News.

NOTE. Owing to the pressure of space in this number the section of the brief **Annotated Bibliography of Reference Books in History** relating to English History which should have appeared in this issue has been postponed to the January number of the Review.

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 2. JANUARY, 1908. NO. 2

THE RETIREMENT OF THOMAS H. BENTON FROM THE SENATE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

II.

As one might naturally infer from the passage of the Jackson Resolutions, the radical pro-slavery element in Missouri, the Anti-Bentonites, had acquired sufficient strength and courage in 1849 to take the field openly against Benton and in support of the Resolutions. A majority of the newspapers appear to have been Anti-Benton. (1) Men of great ability, in public addresses and letters, denied the soundness of Benton's views, denounced his course and justified their own, making much of his refusal to obey the instructions of the Legislature. (2) Among these public and outspoken critics of Benton, none were more conspicuous than his colleague in the Senate, David

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1. As early as the 1st of July, 1849, the following Democratic newspapers, and perhaps others, were actively opposed to Benton: The Metropolitan, at Jefferson City; The Platte Argus, at Platte City; The Missouri Courier, The Southern Standard, The Fayette Democrat; The Howard County Banner; The Northeastern Reporter; The Louisiana (Mo.) Banner, the Grand River Chronicle. The principal papers supporting Benton were the St. Louis Union, and the Jefferson City Enquirer. The Whig press was on the whole Anti-Benton. See the Western Eagle, 6 July, 1849.

2. Both Benton and Judge Birch, (Anti), spoke at Liberty, 16 July, 1849.

R. Atkinson, and James S. Green, of St. Louis. The former had been re-elected to the Senate for a full term by the General Assembly which had passed the Jackson Resolutions. The latter, a brilliant young lawyer, was a member of the House of Representatives, and in 1857 succeeded Atchison in the Senate. Both Atchison and Green wrote letters designed for publication in which they set forth at great length their position upon the issues raised by the Resolutions and Benton's appeal. Mr. Green wrote probably the ablest reply to Benton and made the most adroit attack of the campaign upon the latter's attitude toward the subject of slavery. (3)

Green's letter, (4) dated Washington, D. C., December 10, 1849, opens with a discussion and emphatic endorsement of the right of State Legislatures to instruct Senators in Congress. Benton's course in refusing obedience, amounting to "a practical abandonment of the doctrine of instruction," is then taken up for the purpose of discrediting the Senator in the eyes of the Missouri Democracy. By a species of casuistry the writer then endeavors to show that the Jackson Resolutions, literally interpreted, imposed no obligations with which a person holding Colonel Benton's views of the power of Congress over slavery in the Territories could not consistently comply.

Benton's charge that the Resolutions were forced through the Legislature by fraud and deception, Green takes up next, and evades without directly denying. Having charged Sena-

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3. Respecting the importance of Green in the war against Benton, James G. Blaine said: "Green had done more than any other man in Missouri to break the power of Thomas H. Benton as a leader of the Democracy. His arraignment of Benton before the people of Missouri in 1849, when he was but thirty-two years of age, was one of the most aggressive and successful warfares in our political annals." 1 Twenty Years of Congress, 273. I have been able to discover very little evidence other than the letter mentioned above which justifies this high estimate of Green's efforts against Benton. I have also been unable to discover a copy of the letter which Atchison wrote. Its existence is mentioned, and a paragraph from it is quoted, by the Jefferson Inquirer, 21 May, 1853.

4. This letter was addressed to Messrs. John S. Farish, John W. Minor, Thomas Roberts, Wesley Burks, and others, citizens of Schuyler County, Mo. A copy of this letter in pamphlet form is in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

tor Benton with an abandonment of the doctrine of instruction, devoid of the slightest technical justification, Mr. Green proceeds to inpeach Senator Benton's "soundness" upon the slavery issue, and especially with reference to the Wilmot Proviso; and this is the most significant part of the letter. "Our Resolutions of instruction," wrote Green, "seem to have been drawn **with the special intention to condemn the Wilmot Proviso,** (5) and all measures of a kindred nature." Senator Benton's opposition to these Resolutions induced the writer to believe that Benton was "really in favor of that fanatical and treacherous measure." "His recent conduct and speeches afforded strong corroborative evidence of the same fact." (6) Continuing in this line of attack, Green went on to say:

"On questions so vital, so momentous as this, it is certainly important that the people should know precisely, without doubt or ambiguity, the opinions of their public servants. How else can they expect to be faithfully and truly represented? Colonel Benton has been asked frequently by his constituents for his opinions on the subject, and he has never answered any one so as to make himself understood; nor would he give them the least satisfaction. He replied '**I make no pledges—I give no bonds**;' and in no instance would he answer whether he was **for** or **against Free Soilism.** Now, I believe from the facts above given, together with various others, that he is as much a **Free Soiler** as David Wilmot; but yet there are many good and worthy citizens of our State who think he is **against** Free Soilism, and would abandon him in an instant if they believed he would favor that odious and dangerous scheme. To my certain knowledge some of his friends consider him committed for the Proviso, and others consider him against it. One or the other of these must be deceived—one or the other must be disappointed. In such case, neither

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5. The black face type is mine.

6. Numerous passages from Benton's speeches are then cited in support of this statement, after which Mr. Green launched into a long argument against the Proviso. Beginning with the campaign of 1849, it will be observed that the assaults upon Benton are concentrated upon his position toward the Proviso, as in 1844 they had been directed against his position upon the Texas question.

one should repose any confidence in the man, who knowingly and willfully practices such duplicity and double-dealing as must eventuate in the disappointment of one or both; and no man can tell but that he himself may be the sufferer...."

The letter closed with a brief allusion to public sentiment in Missouri toward the Wilmot Proviso, and to the character of the canvass conducted by Colonel Benton during the preceding summer and autumn.

That the campaign of 1849 in Missouri had been not only one of more than ordinary interest and excitement but also exceedingly acrimonious appears more clearly from a letter written by Adam Klippel, (7) a strong Benton sympathizer, to Hon. Salmon P. Chase while the canvass was at its height. The letter was dated St. Joseph, Missouri, September 14th, 1849, and in it the writer gives the following brief but vivid and circumstantial account of the agitation and acrimony attending this remarkable campaign:

"Dear Sir—You are no doubt aware of the excitement and agitation in Missouri on the slavery question, and the extraordinary exertions now going on to defeat Col. Benton's reelection to the Senate......Believe me, sir, the excitement prevalent in this State at this moment, is fully equal to a Presidential campaign, such as we have seen in Ohio last summer and fall. Everywhere Benton's appeal, his course, slavery in the Territories, abolitionism, &s., &c., are discussed and talked over most lively. And Mr. Benton is traveling over the State making speeches to the people, and at every place he goes immense numbers are present to hear. Mr. Benton spoke in this town on the 9th of August, to a very large concourse of people—about 1,500 persons....I was afraid Mr. Benton would commit a blunder, as his mind was very much excited. A little previous to making his speech, he was arrested for

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7. At the time of writing this letter, Klippel was a printer. Later he became a clergyman in the Methodist Episcopal Church and an editor. In 1860 he took the stump with Carl Schurz in Missouri in behalf of Lincoln. (Rep. Am. Hist. Assn., 1902, vol. II.) Diary and Correspondence of S. P. Chase, 470, citing U. S. Biographical Dictionary (Missouri Volume). The letter quoted in the text is also given in the same volume, 470, ff.

slander. Judge James H. Birch—who is following Benton wherever he goes, making opposition speeches—was the man that sued Benton, for accusing him of whipping his wife. (8)

"Judge Birch spoke here last Saturday (Sept. 8) together with our own representative in Congress—Willard P. Hall, the latter taking only a milder ground of opposition to Mr. Benton. Every disguise, as to the intention of these men towards Benton, is done away. They openly declare that they "**are determined to put down Benton!**" All the judges, more or less, in Missouri are out against Benton; and Mr. Benton in return comes down upon them in no unqualified terms—calling them nullifiers, disunionists, &c. I am sorry Mr. Benton indulges in so much **profanity**. It looks certainly very bad, especially so in a Statesman. He curses the judges personally, and everybody else that disagrees with him. Yet in this respect his opponents—Atchison and all his followers, the Judges—are not a whit behind. Nine out of twenty-two democratic papers in the State, it appears are out against Benton, and are unbounded in villifying him, and such epithets as 'Traitor,' 'Apostate,' 'Scoundrel,' 'Barnburner,' 'Abolitionist,' 'Free Soiler,' are continually heaped upon him unsparingly. At the head of these stands the Jefferson City 'Metropolitan' ---a miserable sheet,....I am afraid Benton will be defeated. The people of Missouri, however, so far as I have been able to see will sustain Col. Benton. But notwithstanding this, I am afraid,—very much afraid---our General Assembly will drop Benton, and send in his place another such a dough-head and

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8. See footnote on a preceding page, quoting Paxton's Annals, 117.

9. Calhoun wrote to Thomas G. Clemson, 24 Aug. 1849: "....Benton and Clay are both playing for the North. I enclose in pamphlet form my notice of his assault on me....It is, so far as I have heard, regarded as triumphant. It is said that he will not be able to sustain himself in Missouri. His colleague, Gen. Atchison, says he has no chance to be re-elected." Calhoun's Correspondence (Rep. Am. Hist. Assn., 1899) 771.

In the same month Calhoun wrote to A. W. Venable: "I hear from Missouri that Benton's days are numbered. Atchison and Green say that he has as good a chance to be elected Pope, as to be elected Senator." Ibid, 770; see also, Ibid, 1204.

Slavery-Propogandist as General Atchison, who is also now canvassing the State against Benton.....'' (10)

The effect of Benton's appeal and the canvass which ensued, was, in the words of another contemporary, to ''stir popular feeling from its profoundest depths.'' (11) Benton's appeal assumed the character of a test. Upon it and upon the Jackson Resolutions, including the subject of slavery in the Territories, it ''became obligatory for every one to give an opinion who was a solicitor for public favor.'' (12) Political friends ''completely separated'' upon the Resolutions and were ''widely diversified in sentiment about their construction.'' (13) Democratic candidates for Congress found it necessary to write circular letters to their constituents in which they carefully defined their position upon the burning issues of the day. ''These resolutions,'' wrote one candidate for Congress, (14) ''have been so much discussed, so critically reviewed, so wildly denounced, and so warmly eulogized, that it becomes almost impossible to divest the mind of the over-heightened colorings that have been thrown around them, and subject them to a calm, philosophic review.'' (15)

The political ferment was not confined to the ranks of the Democratic party in Missouri; it affected the Whigs also. The attitude of the latter party throughout the campaign of

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10. I have not been able to learn the itinerary of either Atchison or Birch. The former spoke in St. Joseph the latter part of September and probably spoke in Jackson in the same month. See The Western Eagle, 31 Aug. 1849.

11. Col. William F. Switzler of Columbia, Mo.

12. Circular of Mr. James S. Bowlin to his constituents, the Voters of the First Congressional District in Missouri, (1850); a pamphlet belonging to the Missouri Historical Society.

13. Ibid.

14. Mr. Bowlin, op. cit. Mr. Bowlin at first tried to maintain a neutral attitude, but was soon forced to take sides, and then came out against Benton.

15. There is an echo of this storm and stress period of 1849 in the proceedings of Congress which met in December, 1849, in connection with the presentation of the Jackson Resolutions in the Senate by Mr. Atchison on the 3d of Jan. 1850; 21 Cong. Globe, Pt. I, 98; Senate Journal, 1st session, 31 Cong. 48. Benton's remarks on this occasion are reproduced in another connection in 2 Thirty Years' View, 361-2. The Resolutions were presented to the House by Mr. Green, 31 Dec., 1849; House Journal, 203.

1849-1850 is well described by Colonel Switzler, himself a contemporary Whig: (16)

"The Whigs, at all times a minority in the State, claimed to occupy a position of 'armed neutrality' touching the distracting questions which threatened the unity and power, if not the very existence of their Democratic opponents. It is not to be denied, however, that quite naturally, they sought to foment the prevailing discord, and in reference to the Jackson Resolutions themselves, sympathized with Colonel Benton. (17) Their representatives in both branches of the General Assembly had opposed them by speech and vote at the time of their adoption, and for similar reasons to those afterwards presented by Colonel Benton in his warfare upon them." By the time it became necessary to elect a successor to Benton in 1850, "the Whigs themselves were to some extent divided into Benton and Anti-Benton Whigs, designations which attached to the one segment or the other according to the intensity of its pro-slavery or anti-slavery sentiments."

Very little evidence has been found which indicates clearly what the leaders and lieutenants of the two great factions in the Missouri Democracy did in the spring and summer of 1850. Apparently the State's two Senators, Benton and Atchison, were fully occupied with the absorbing topics then engrossing the attention not only of Congress but of the whole country. We read of few speeches in Missouri; in fact, few were needed, for the issues had all been clearly defined during the exciting contest of the year preceding.

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16. History of Missouri, 272.

17. This may be true in general, but there were numerous exceptions. For example, The Western Eagle endorsed the substance of the Resolutions, but repudiated the idea of nullification or secession. The Whigs naturally availed themselves of the disaffection in the Democratic ranks to conduct a State and Congressional campaign of unusual vigor in 1850. See The Western Eagle, 17 Aug., 1849, 29 Mar., 28 June, 19 July, 2 Aug.. and 23 Aug., 1850. As early as the 1st of April, 1850, the possibility of bringing about the election of a Whig to the Senate was appreciated, and urged in the Whig press. See The Western Eagle, 12 April, 1850, communication from A New Madrid Whig.

In August were to be elected members of the General Assembly which would choose a successor to Senator Benton. That individual, on the whole, appears to have viewed the situation with far too much calmness, apparently overestimating his influence and the strength of his following. Often he refused in a decidedly cavalier fashion requests from his constituents to appear before them and speak upon the issues. (18)

Some attempt seems to have been made to heal the schism caused by the Jackson Resolutions and Benton's appeal. Overtures were made by the Antis to the Bentonites looking toward a united Democratic ticket in the August campaign. This prospect of reconciliation was swept away by the following spirited letter from Senator Benton, dated Washington City, March 8, 1850, (19) in which he declared that he "would sooner sit in council with the six thousand dead, who have died of cholera in St. Louis, than to go into convention with such a gang of scamps." "I will not mix with them, nor give, nor take help. Let them have their own ticket and we ours. Let us have a clean Democratic ticket—no taint of Calhounism, i. e., secession, disunion, nullification, in it. Let them have their own ticket, and elect it if they can; or defeat ours if they can. The point is to defeat them. The public good requires it; the harmony and the preservation of the Union require it. The Missouri elections this year are a turning point in the drama of disunion." (20)

When the returns from the August elections were all in, it was evident that the newly elected Legislature would be divided into three factions, Bentonites, Anti-Bentonites and

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18. Roger's Benton, 313. Benton spoke in St. Louis, 9 Nov., 1850. This is the only speech of his in the campaign of 1850 which I have found.

19. The name of the party to whom this letter was addressed is not given in The Western Eagle, 15 April, 1850, where the letter is printed.

20. This was substantially the course pursued in the campaign of 1850.

Whigs, in such a way that no one faction could command the majority necessary to effect the election of a Senator. (21)

When the General Assembly convened, December 30th, the caucus of Bentonites sent a message to the Anti-Benton caucus inquiring if the latter would join with the Bentonites for the purpose of effecting an organization of the Legislature. To this message the Antis replied in a resolution which stated that "whenever the Benton Democracy shall abandon Colonel Benton as their candidate for United States Senator and their support of his 'Appeal' from the instructions of the last General Assembly of Missouri, and the principles maintained by him relative to the subject of slavery, then this meeting will with great pleasure join all Democrats in carrying out the great fundamental principles of the Democratic party, as set forth in the Baltimore platform of 1844 and 1848, provided they recognize the rights of instruction by the Legislature of their Senators in Congress." (22) With such terms, amounting to a complete surrender of their position, the Benton men could not of course comply. (23)

The joint sessions of the two Houses for the purpose of electing a Senator began on the 10th of January, 1851, and continued to be held from day to day until the 22d. On the 11th, Mr. Hill, a member of the House, offered in joint session the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the one-half of the State of Missouri is now misrepresented in the person of Thomas H. Benton in the United States Senate, and that the two houses, now in joint session will not adjourn except as may suit their convenience until a United States Senator who will reflect

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21. See the comment upon the result of the August elections in The Western Eagle, 9 Aug. 1850; and an editorial review of Benton's speech at St. Louis, 9 Nov. 1850, in issue of 15 Nov. 1850.

22. The Western Eagle, 3 Jan, 1851. Telegraphic accounts of legislative proceedings appeared regularly in this paper beginning with this issue.

23. See also in this connection, reports of House and Senate Committees on Federal Relations, in Missouri House Journal, appendix, 239, and Missouri Senate Journal, appendix, 249.

the true interests of the State shall have been elected, or until the 5th day of March, next." (24)

The resolution was laid upon the table, but it is significant of the animus of the Anti-Benton members, and the resolute determination of some to compass the defeat of Benton at any price.

"The war of the factions raged furiously, each 'wing' of the Democratic party preferring the success of the Whigs to the success of the opposing division of their own party. Finally .... a portion of the line of each of the opposing forces gave way, and victory perched upon the banner of the Whigs." (25) On the fortieth ballot, Henry S. Geyer, a lawyer of eminent ability residing in St . Louis, was elected for the term of six years beginning March 4th, 1851. On that date Thomas H. Benton, after a period of thirty years' service, ceased to be a Senator of the United States.

According to the calculation of his enemies, Benton should have retired from political life after his defeat in 1851; (26) but they had reckoned without their host. A Benton temporarily cast down and a Benton vanquished and destroyed were two entirely different things, as they were soon to discover. Benton immediately set about reorganizing his "bolt" from the regular Democratic organization in Missouri. (27)

When the parties in that State were about to prepare for the Congressional, State and Presidential elections in 1852, the Antis made another effort to heal the schism which had resulted in the election of a Whig as Senator, and sought to bring together into one State convention all who still

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24. Missouri Senate Journal, 1850-51, 88. See also report of the House Committee on Federal Relations, in Missouri House Journal, appendix, 239, ff.

25. Switzler's Missouri, 275. The break in the Democratic ranks began about the 16th of January, and seems to have come from the Anti-Benton side. See the dispatch sent to The Western Eagle on that day, issue of 17 Jan., 1851.

26. Statement of Judge William C. Price, reported to me by Mr. Connelley.

27. See the Washington Correspondent of the Louisville (Ky.) Courier, quoted in The Western Eagle, 21 March, 1851.

claimed to be Democrats. But with this Benton would have nothing to do. Leters were published by him in denunciation of the movement toward factional reconciliation, and his followers were forbidden to participate in the State Democratic convention which met at Jefferson City early in the summer of 1852. That convention, composed mainly of radicals, manifested a willingness to forget the past, including Benton's "hostility to the Compromise measure of 1850," his disobedience of the legislative instructions, and his open "bolt" from the Democratic party, "on condition that he and his supporters would 'acquiesce' in the. adjustment measures of 1850 and the principles they established, and in good faith adhere to the party organization and nominees." (28)

In less than two months after the Jefferson City convention, "Colonel Benton took the stump again in Missouri, denounced the Democratic State convention and its platform, derided all who adhered to it, and proclaimed that he would never again support the nominees even of a Democratic National Convention." (29)

Acting in accordance with Colonel Benton's admonitions, "his friends drew off from the Democratic party in most portions of the State where they had any strength. In the First Congressional District, the regular convention nominated as the Democratic candidate for Congress, Col. Lewis V. Bogy; the Benton men bolted and Colonel Benton ran as an independent candidate. His example and his advice were followed generally by his friends; they bolted from the regular Democratic organization, formed a new organization and continued to act under it until after the defeat of Benton for re-election to the Senate in 1854-55.

Colonel Benton's election to the House of Representatives was merely an episode in his struggle for re-election to the

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28. Rev. Mo. Politics, 8.
29. Ibid.

Senate. (30.) The same fury and vehemence and vituperation characterize his campaign in 1852 that had distinguished his canvass three years earlier. Throughout the whole of the tremendous contest for election to the House, from which he emerged triumphant, "he spared no public or personal denunciation. He exhausted every expletive of abuse. He ransacked the entire range of the English language for terms of scorn and derision. He spared no character. He wavered in no contest. He struck at everything and everybody, fiercely, powerfully, and with a rude grandeur of gigantic rage and hate. He was an angry Vulcan forging and launching thunderbolts of hate." (31)

Long after Colonel Benton's election to the House, the war of the factions continued. In August, 1852, a special session of the Legislature was called to consider the subject of Internal Improvements, a subject which, during this period, was ordinarily deeply exciting of itself in Missouri politics. Great, however, "as was the particular interest everywhere felt in the early completion" of the railroads within the State, "nothing could obscure the camp-fires of the political factions, or smooth the ragged edge of their conflicts. Fresh from the turbulence of the State canvass, which had closed on the first Monday of the month, the Senators and Representatives of the people, supplemented by a large and active lobby, assembled at the Capitol, and at the very threshhold confronted the questions of Benton and Anti-Benton, Free-soil and Slave-soil, Whig and Democrat, Hard and Soft. Therefore, a most bitter and protracted struggle ensued in the organization of the House, during which the special subjects for which the session had been

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30. Yet the campaign of 1852 involved issues of more significance than the personal defeat or triumph of one leader and his faction, the Jackson Resolutions and the Wilmot Proviso and Benton's opposition to the Compromise measures of 1850 still lay at the bottom of the factional war. See the letter of Benton to the editor of the Boonville, (Mo.) Observer, in June, 1852, quoted in Rev. Mo. Politics, 106.

31. Comment of the New Orleans Crescent upon Benton's election to the House, quoted in Jefferson Inquirer, 28 Aug., 1852. See also Rev. Mo. Pol., 106.

called were entirely forgotten ...... And thus the conflict raged, the 'Jackson Resolutions' being the real element of discord; the Benton Democrats avowing the purpose to expunge them from the Journal; the Antis, to keep them there; the Whigs securely poised on the pedestal of 'armed neutrality.' " (32)

This special session of the General Assembly did not adjourn finally until two days before the time fixed by statute for the assembling of the next regular session, which began 27 Dec., 1852, and adjourned 24 Feb., 1853: "a stormy session—storms in both Houses over the Jackson Resolutions, and the question of slavery, secession and disunion." (33) With the close of this session we are brought to the beginning of the memorable campaign of 1853 which marks the culmination of Benton's effort to secure his restoration to the Senate—a campaign deserving of a detailed treatment which can not be given here.

To the story of Colonel Benton's retirement from the Senate, and his struggle for restoration, there attaches a significance and an importance which is wholly distinct from its value as an episode in biography and local history. It constitutes one of the earliest chapters in the genesis of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

The term of David R. Atchison, as Senator from the State of Missouri, would expire March 4th, 1855; Mr. Atchison desired to succeed himself; Colonel Benton determined to contest the seat in the interest of his own restoration. The Legislature upon which would devolve the duty of choosing Atchison's successor would not be elected until August, 1854. Nevertheless, early in 1853, Colonel Benton announced his candidacy, and at once commenced a vigorous campaign to capture the Legislature to be chosen the following year—a campaign distinguished by a degree of bitterness and personal denunciation fully equal to that which characterized the campaigns of 1849 and 1852.

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32. Switzler's Missouri, 276-277. Missouri House Journal, 519.
33. Ibid.

Benton conceived the idea of making political capital for himself by advocating the immediate opening of the Nebraska country to white settlement, leaving the Missouri Compromise inhibition intact; and by also advocating the early construction by the Federal Government of the railroad from the Mississippi river across the State of Missouri, to the Pacific coast, along what, in the discussions of the day, was called the "central" route. The consummation of both these measures would be at once popular with, and pecuniarily profitable to, the people of Missouri. As indispensible to both these projects, Benton ostentatiously championed in 1853 the immediate organization of a territorial government in Nebraska.

By this unexpected maneuver which seriously threatened his supremacy in the western part of the State, Atchison was placed in the dilemma of either being compelled to assume an attitude of opposition to the new measures championed by Benton which were immensely popular and clearly in the interest of large classes within the State, thereby jeopardizing his own popularity and seriously diminishing the chances of preventing Benton's restoration; or else he must accept the humiliating alternative of appearing as the tail to Benton's kite. Early in 1853 it became evident that his only hope lay in appealing to the slaveholding interests of the State by supporting Benton's Nebraska measure in a modified form. Accordingly Atchison declared in favor of the early establishment of a territorial government in Nebraska, but qualified his declaration by refusing to support any measure which prevented slaveholders of Missouri from entering the new Territory with his slave-property. In effect this amounted to a demand for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise restriction, and it was so understood at the time. Atchison also promised to support measures looking to the construction of a railroad from some point in Missouri to the Pacific, but declined to bind himself to any particular route in the absence of completed and detailed surveys of the different routes then under consideration. But the principal issue in 1853 was over the Nebraska territorial problem:

should Nebraska be organized as a Territory under the old Compromise prohibition of slavery, as Benton demanded; or should the question of slavery or no slavery be left for decision in accordance with the principle of "squatter" sovereignty, for which Atchison contended? Over this was waged the last great political battle, having any prospect of success, in Colonel Benton's long and tempestuous career. In the end his championship of Nebraska proved a boomerang, and resulted in the political annihilation of both himself and his most formidable opponent, Atchison.

P. O. RAY.

THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION OF MISSOURI IN 1860.

No State in the Union was more violently convulsed in 1860 by the fierce contention of political parties, and bitter factional feuds within the parties, than was Missouri. The defeat of Colonel Benton and Freesoilism in 1856 had inspired the leaders of the old-line Democratic party with confidence that Missouri was securely anchored to the principles of Calhoun, and policies declared by the renowned Jackson Resolutions; and, until the close of 1859, they entertained but little doubt that Southern influence would continue to predominate in State and National legislation.

But within the Democratic party of the State, then largely in the majority, there was a strong conservative element of thoughtful men who foresaw the doom of the institution of slavery and impending peril of the Union, and who, yet loyal to the party, were favorable to the policy of honorable concessions that promised hope of averting, or, at least, postponing for a time, the threatened disruption. The seeds of dissension in the Democratic party planted during the acrimonious discussions of the questions involved in the Kansas-Nebraska measures of 1854, and germinating in the heated contest two years later that relegated Colonel Benton to private life, were, in 1860 blossoming with ominous portents of coming disaster. The two factions were yet under the same banner, not as friends, however, but antagonists held together only by fear of a common enemy.

Such was the status of party unity when Claiborne F. Jackson, chairman of the State Democratic Central Committee, called the first Democratic State convention to order at 11 o'clock a. m., on the 9th day of April, 1860, in the Hall of Representatives at Jefferson City. The Democracy of every county in the State excepting three was there represented, and a large proportion of the counties were represented by full delegations. The two factions of the party were at once marshaled by their alert leaders for the inevitable contest to gain control of the Convention's organization. There was no skirmishing, or any attempt at dilatory tactics, or strategy; but the gage of battle was offered by one side, and promptly accepted by the other. From the first move it was evident that neither faction was actuated by any spirit of conciliation, or willing to purchase harmony at the price of concession of any material point in controversy.

Immediately upon conclusion of Mr. Jackson's introductory remarks, and his announcement that nominations for temporary chairman of the Convention were in order, James N. Burnes, of Platte county, who was tacitly recognized as the leading exponent of ultra-Southern sentiment, commenced the fray by placing in nomination for that office Judge Rowland, of Macon county, a pronounced opponent of Douglas for the Presidency. This challenge was met without hesitation by Capt. Thomas B. Hudson, of St. Louis, by nominating for the same position Dr. E. D. Bevitt, of St Charles, a conservative politician of the passive, or "anything for peace" order, but yet a reliable supporter of Douglas and his political heresies. Then the earnest contest for supremacy began. The nominations were seconded by several partisan friends of the respective candidates in fiery speeches reviewing and discussing the points of factional variance, each surpassing the other in severity of denunciation, and intensity of feeling, until the wrangling became general, and threatened to extinguish at the initial step of the Convention all hope of harmony and unity of action.

Seeing that impending danger, Gov. Young, of Lafayette county, essayed to pour oil on the surging waves by offering, as a compromise, a motion that Ex-Gov. Sterling Price, one of the most prominent of the conservatives, be chosen by acclamation the temporary presiding officer. Instantly Jim Burnes was on his feet vehemently objecting to Gov. Young's peace offering, and denouncing it as a wily scheme of the Douglas men to gain control of the convention by false pretenses, and he pressed with renewed vigor the candidacy of Judge Rowland. By that time the adherents of Douglas were convinced they were a hopeless minority, but continued the contest by filibustering tactics until, finally outgeneraled, a ballot was taken resulting in the election of Judge Rowland by a majority admitting of no doubt that his supporters were masters of the situation. In this first engagement the minority was defeated, but not vanquished. For three days it ably and fearlessly contended at all points with the "fire eaters," and in the end gained a practical victory, though it was barren in ultimate results.

After a needed recess the convention was again called to order by Chairman pro. tem. Rowland, and every delegate was promptly in his seat. On a motion offered, authorizing the presiding officer to appoint a committee consisting of one from each Congressional district to select permanent officers of the convention, the storm of the forenoon broke out afresh, and raged for a time with uncontrolable turbulence. But in a lull of the tumult the chair decided the motion to have been carried, and proceeded to announce the committee, placing at its head the leaders of the opposing factions. Hon. John B. Henderson, of Pike, and James N. Burnes, of Platte, followed by Peter Wilkes, Haliburton, Ivory, Childs and English. Mr. Henderson was the only representative of the minority on the Committee, and, though he still courageously continued the fight, he was soon overwhelmed, and the cut-and-dried list of officers previously agreed upon by the majority managers, was reported by Mr. Burnes, as follows: President of the Convention, Col. Robert E. Acock, of Polk county; Vice Presidents, James M. Hughes, of St. Louis, John C. Carter, of Pike, Hancock Jackson, of Randolph, Col. John Dougherty, of De Kalb, Gov. James Young, of Lafayette, John M. Miller, of Green, and Abram Hunter, of Scott; and the Secretaries chosen were Charles L. Rodgers, Warwick Hough and Eugene Longuemere, every one of them on the list, with exception of Gov. Young, unrelenting opponents of Douglas and his doctrines .

The Sixth Congressional district, represented in Congress for more than twenty years by Hon. John S. Phelps, then comprising very nearly all that part of the State south of the Osage and west of the Gasconade, and usually known as "Southwest Missouri," without a bridge spanning any of its numerous streams, without a telegraph line, remote from railroads, and with very limited and precarious navigation of the Osage river, was, from the admission of the State into the Union, a stronghold of the Democracy. And, though invariably loyal to the party, giving to its candidates at every election a practically unanimous vote, its fealty had never been rewarded by bestowal of a higher State office than that of Secretary of State, a position then occupied by Col. Benjamin F. Massey, of Jasper county. The delegates from Southwest Missouri in this Convention were united, and very urgent, in claiming the candidate for Governor as due to their section, and presented as their choice for that high honor Hon. Waldo P. Johnson, of St. Clair county. The selection of Col. Acock, from their region, for President of the Convention, was therefore hailed by the Johnson men as an important advantage gained. And they spared neither time nor labor in their efforts to impress the other delegates with the justice of their claim, and the exalted worth of their candidate.

At 10 o'clock on the next morning the session of the convention was resumed, with Col. Acock in the chair, and proceeded to adopt a basis of representation, and appoint the various committees necessary to perfect its organization. In these matters there were, as usual in such (so-called) deliberative bodies, several conflicting interests involved, instigating a good deal of wasted oratory in heated debates, attended with much noise and confusion. At length the motion of Genl. Monroe Parsons to admit both factions of all divided delegations prevailed, and a semblance of order was restored. The proposition for each district delegation to select one of their number—the nine so chosen to constitute the committee on resolutions, or platform, was carried without serious opposition, and in a short time the chair announced, in accordance therewith, the following gentlemen as said committee:

First District—Hon. John B. Henderson.
Second District—Hon. Sterling Price.
Third District—Thomas Poole.
Fourth District—James N. Burnes.
Fifth District—M. C. Goodlet.
Sixth District—Dr. John F. Snyder.
Seventh District—Hon. John Hyer.
Eighth District—John H. Martin.
Ninth District—William M. Cooke.

As the last name was called Hon. Austin A. King obtained the floor—for about the twentieth time—on this occasion to propose a special plan of his own for the selection of delegates to represent the Missouri Democracy at the Charleston National Convention, taking but little pains to conceal his extreme eagerness to have himself selected as one of those delegates.

The committee on resolutions immediately retired from the hall to begin earnest work, fully aware of the gravity and difficulties of the task assigned us. To formulate a set of principles acceptable to the Convention, reconciling all the discordant elements there assembled, that at the same time would strengthen the party in its appeal to the people in the approaching campaign, was both the theory and complex problem confronting us. The committee indulged in no preliminary talk, or exchange of social courtesies, but as soon as each member was seated in the committee room active skirmishing began. By agreement with Burnes, Goodlet and Hyer, Dr. Snyder commenced the fray by introducing a set of resolutions he had the evening before written by the request and with the approval of a caucus composed of Col. Massey, Waldo P. Johnson, Col. Acock, Burnes, M. M. Parsons and a few other southern extremists. They were based upon those eternal principles of justice and sound constitutional law—as we then assumed—expressed by the famous "Jackson Resolutions"; and which we honestly believed reflected the sentiments of a large preponderance of the people of Missouri.

These resolutions were read very impressively and listened to attentively, but were not adopted by acclamation. They met the able, earnest and dignified opposition of our chairman, the gentleman from Pike, Genl. Henderson, who, all through the protracted and acrimonious discussions that followed, never for a moment lost his temper, or was in the least excited or irritated, but conducted his side of the controversy, regardless of abundant provocation, with studied decorum and courtesy. He was radically opposed to the spirit and intent of the Jackson Resolutions, and suggested that the best policy for us to pursue, in view of the excited condition of popular feeling in the State, would be to construct a platform of tolerance and conciliation; for, he thought, the questions relating to the existence or extension of slavery should be eliminated from our State politics and referred—where they properly belonged---to Congress.

James Nelson Burnes, then just beginning public life, in exuberant health and spirits, was a splendid type of perfect manhood. He was mentally brilliant, and physically vigorous and robust. In form an Adonis, compactly and faultlessly built, erect and broad-shouldered, with dark curling hair over a massive forehead, strong, handsome features, sparkling, expressive eyes, and teeth that glistened like a tiger's beneath a lip that curled in haughty defiance in his impetuous and impassioned oratory. He was an eloquent and impressive speaker, always aggressive, impulsive and positive, having much of that force called magnetic, that commanded attention and sometimes carried conviction. He was at that time an ultra uncompromising champion of everything claimed by the South, and extolled the Jackson Resolutions as embodying the true canons of right and justice that underlaid our republican institutions. In the committee room he led the representatives of Missouri fire-eaters, and very ably antagonized Genl. Henderson at every point.

Genl. Price engaged in the debate as a peace-maker, occupying the unsatisfactory position of favoring both sides.

He was eminently conservative; but while all his fervent sympathies were for the South, he would cheerfully have made any reasonable personal sacrifice to preserve harmony in our party, and maintain permanent unity, and to promote the welfare and prosperity of the people not only of Missiouri, but of every section of the Union.

For twenty-six hours, with exception of brief intervals for refreshments and sleep, we continued our discussions and contentions, without much regard for parliamentary rules, until at length the Burnes' majority forced a vote upon each separate resolution, which they adopted, of course, thereby producing a platform differing but little from that first proposed. It was passively accepted by Genl. Price, Mr. Poole and Mr. Martin. Mr. Henderson firmly refused his assent, but unwilling to be instrumental in further adding to the discord already prevailing in the Convention, he declined to offer a protest or minority report, or in any way voice his dissent. He also, as chairman of the committee, declined to report the resolutions to the Convention, a duty Genl. Price was reluctantly persuaded to discharge.

The platform commenced with cordial endorsement of the principles proclaimed by the Democratic National Convention at Cincinnati in 1856; followed by the declaration, "that the Democratic party of Missouri affirms as right these cardinal principles on the subject of slavery in the Territories:

(1) That Congress has no power to abolish slavery in the Territories.

(2) That the Territorial Legislature has no power to abolish slavery in any Territory, or to prohibit the introduction of slavery therein; nor any power to exclude slavery therefrom by unfriendly legislation; nor any power to impair or destroy the right of property in any slaves by any legislation whatever.

(3) That the provisions of the Constitution for the rendition of fugitives from service or labor—without the adoption of which the Union could not have been formed—and the laws of 1793 and 1850, which were enacted to se-

cure its execution, and the main features of which being similar, bear the impress of nearly seventy years of sanction by the highest judicial authority, have unquestionable claim to the respect and observance of all who enjoy the benefits of our compact of Union; and the acts of State Legislatures to defeat the purpose, or nullify the requirements of that provision and the laws made in pursuance of it, are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.''

References to the remote contingency of secession, and pledging Missouri—in the spirit of the Jackson Resolutions—to stand by her sister Southern States in such an event, proposed in the committee room, were prudently excluded. Our fifth resolution advocated ''the peaceable acquisition of territory'' by the purchase of Cuba. The sixth plank endorsed Congressional aid for the construction of a railroad to the Pacific. The seventh denounced John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry as ''a genuine demonstration of the intent and purpose of the Republican party.'' In the eighth we ''indignantly repelled the stereotyped charge of disunion sentiment so persistently attributed to the Democracy by leaders of the opposition for partisan purposes.'' The ninth resolution enthusiastically endorsed the administration of Mr. Buchanan; and two or three others declared the Missouri Democracy to favor the prompt payment when due, in coin, of all bonds authorized by the General Assembly, the speedy completion of the Southwest Branch, and North Missouri railroads, and the most rigid economy in public expenditures.

The reading of the resolutions was listened to with eager attention, and they were adopted by the convention with tumultuous demonstrations of approval.

During the protracted deliberations of the committee on resolutions the convention was entertained with continuous oratory in elucidation of ''the issues of the day'' by the most distinguished Democrats of the State, while, at the same time aspirants for the several public positions, and their friends, were industriously engaged in rallying their forces and strengthening their lines. The platform disposed of, another era of speech-making began when the chair announced the next business in order was the nomination of candidates for State officers, to be chosen by the vote of the counties upon roll call, commencing with the position of Governor. Immediately Judge De Witt Clinton Ballou, of St. Clair county, arose, and, in a forceful speech, placed in nomination, as a candidate for Governor, Hon. Waldo P. Johnson, of that county; claiming that his selection by the convention for the highest office in the gift of the Missouri people would be "simply an act of justice to that portion of the State always unswervingly loyal to the party, and always ignored in the distribution of its favors." When quiet was partially restored after the prolonged applause that frequently interrupted and followed Judge Ballou's speech, his nomination of Mr. Johnson was seconded by Col. Nat. Claiborne, of Jackson county, a campaign orator without a superior and but few equals in the State. His address on that occasion—eloquent, brilliant and sensational—stirring the multitude to a high pitch of enthusiasm, concluded by imploring the Democrats of Missouri to unite and "stand firm against that hydra-headed amalgamation of Abolitionism, Douglasism, and Black Republicanism now confronting us intent on abrogating the Constitution and establishing an oligarchy upon the ruins of our Democratic institutions."

Other speakers endorsed Judge Ballou's nomination with somewhat similar flights of oratory, and when the last eulogist of Johnson closed, Hon. William H. Buffington and Hon. Monroe M. Parsons, of Cole county, Hon. Ferdinand Kennett, of Washington, Hon. Claiborne F. Jackson, of Saline, and Hon. David R. Atchison, of Clay, were also put in nomination for Governor by devoted friends, and the nomination of each was repeatedly seconded and endorsed with scintillations of rhetorical laudation and telling outbursts of patriotic fervor.

Col. Robert E. Acock, President of the Convention, then considerably passed the meridian of life, was one of the old-time gentlemen of the Calhoun school of politics; a native of the bluegrass region of Kentucky and of high Virginia decent; a capitalist and owner of several hundred acres of the best land in Polk county, and the largest slave owner in all that part of the State south of the Osage. Fairly well educated, he had polished manners, was dignified, courteous and very hospitable. In stature he was tall and erect, but, in declining years, physically weak and feeble in voice. He had served several terms as member of the Lower House of the Legislature, and was the recognized party leader of his locality, politically and personally bitterly opposed to Col. Benton. (1)

In accepting the chairmanship of the Convention, Col. Acock undertook the task that his strength was totally inadequate to accomplish, for no body of respectable men anywhere could have been more boisterous and refractory than this. By the afternoon of the second day he was completely exhausted, and his voice could not be heard ten feet away. In this exigency, on motion of Col. James M. Hughes, ex-Gov. Sterling Price was elected President pro tem. of the Convention, and at once assumed the position much to Col. Acock's relief. But the stentorian voice and commanding presence of the new presiding officer and his energetic use of the gavel, made little impression on the tumultuous uproar and confusion, subdued only in a measure when balloting was ordered. The first ballot resulted as follows:

Jackson	16,279	Buffington	8,111
Johnson	12,379	Parsons	959
Kennett	11,525	Chenault	299
Atchison	3,207		

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1. When "Old Bullion," then a candidate for Governor against Trusten Polk, addressed the voters of Polk county, at Bolivar, on the 7th of July, 1856, in his memorable "appeal to the people," Col. Acock replied to him from the judge's stand in the court house. A few of us, residents of the village, though not in accord with his views, were sitting with Col. Benton in the shade in front of the hotel near by, paying him the attention due his illustrious career, when he asked who that was speaking in the court house, and was told it was Col. Acock. "Ah," said he, with a contemptuous sneer, "I thought from the noise he makes it might be A cock crowing, but it turns out to be only an old hen cackling."

No candidate having received a majoritly of all the votes, another ballot was ordered, whereupon Mr. Seay, of St. Louis, placed in nomination Hon. Isaac H. Sturgeon, of that city. When balloting was finished the votes announced gave

Jackson..	17,364	Sturgeon..	4,999
Johnson..	13,537	Atchison..	2,274
Kennett..	7,512	Parsons..	959
Buffington..	6,391		

On the third ballot Jackson's vote was increased to 23,364, and Johnson's to 17,714. It being apparent before the roll call was ended that Mr. Jackson was the choice of the Convention, all his contestants withdrew, and he was declared the nominee for Governor by acclamation.

At that point in the proceedings Governor Price, restoring temporarily the chair to Col. Acock, descended to the floor from the Speaker's seat, and in a neat speech placed Thomas C. Reynolds, of St. Louis, in nomination for Lieutenant-Governor. Several others were also brought forward by their friends for that position, but before the roll call for a ballot was half completed they were all withdrawn, and Mr. Reynolds was declared the nominee.

There was no abatement of the unrest and irritability of the delegates, or of the noise and tulmult of their proceedings on the third day of the Convention. All were tired, many disappointed, and a general disposition was manifested to finish the work and disperse. By that time "the machine" was very apparently in full control with a prearranged program that defied outside interference. Having secured the candidates it wanted for the head of the ticket it supplied the balance without delay or hesitation by renominating, almost altogether, the officials then in place who were elected four years before, as follows: Col. Benjamin F. Massey, for Secretary of State; Alfred W. Morrison, for Treasurer; Wm. F. Moseley, for Auditor; J. Proctor Knott, Attorney General; N. B. Starke, Superintendent of Public Instruction; John F. Houston, Register of Lands; and George W. Hough, Stephen P. Vannoy and Dr. F. L. Davis, for Board of Public Works.

The delegates chosen to represent the Democracy of Missouri at the Charleston national convention were Col. Sam B.

Churchill, John M. Krum, Col. Nat C. Claiborne, Abraham Hunter, James S. Craig, Austin A. King, J. T. Mence, John B. Clark and James M. Hughes.

Throughout all its several sessions the Convention was characterized by jarring and discord and riotous disorder. The great party that for years had absolutely dominated the State was here represented by discordant elements having broadly divergent views that defied reconciliation. The outspoken Free Soilers among the delegates were too few to effect serious disturbance had the rest been united; but their dissension was completely eclipsed by the intense personal antagonism of the Douglas and Anti-Douglas factions. The minority yielded but a sullen enforced acquiescence in the results of their contests, and the victors were not exultant, for they were by no means confident that their triumph was tantamount to ultimate success. The delegations of certain districts were dissatisfied because they had failed to secure the nominations of their local favorites; and several aspirants did not attempt to conceal their disappointment and disgust at having been defeated for the places they wanted by present incumbents and chronic office seekers. Following the sine die adjournment of the Convention on the evening of the 11th of April, a largely attended public meeting, to ratify its action, held in front of the capitol was addressed in strains of stirring eloquence by Burnes, Claiborne, Parsons, and others, and the patriots then dispersed to their several homes.

Missouri as the near neighbor of Kansas was more deeply stirred than many other states of the Union by the fierce ebulition of feeling and excitement consequent upon the startling events springing from repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854. The nomination of Lincoln for President at Chicago on May 16th, 1860, gave Douglas preeminence among Democrats of the northern states as the logical, and necessary, candidate of their party to oppose him. But the Democracy of the south, having lost faith in Douglas and his political heresies, demanded a reliable candidate in harmony with their views regarding the institution of slavery and its constitutional guarantees. In the disruption of the old Whig party, the birth of the new Republican organization, and the hopeless division of the time-honored Democracy, the culmination of irritating national issues long held barely in abeyance, was now imminent and inevitable. Finding it impossible to unite upon either measures or men at the Charleston convention the Democratic party there divided into two factions resulting in the calling of a "national" convention by each, at which Senator Douglas was nominated for the Presidency by one, and General John C. Breckenridge by the other. The Democracy of Missouri, by their platform of principles adopted at the State convention held in April, was committed to the policy advocated by the Breckinridge, or southern, wing of the now dissevered party. Therefore when Jackson and Reynolds, their nominees for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, proclaimed themselves favorable to the election of Douglas and Johnson for President and Vice President, the State Central Committee promptly deposed them, removing their names from the State Democratic ticket, and substituting in their stead Hancock Jackson for Governor, and Monroe M. Parsons for Lieutenant-Governor, and endorsing all the other nominees for state offices, of whose loyalty to the south there was no question or doubt.

Following that act of the Central Committee there appeared on June 27th, in the orthodox Democratic newspapers a call, signed by United States Senators James S. Greene and Trusten Polk, Hon. John S. Phelps, Wm. A. Harris, Peter S. Wilkes, Wm. C. Price, and others, to the Democracy of Missouri to meet in the several counties and select delegates to represent them in a State convention to be held at the State capitol, in September, "to adopt measures which shall insure unity of action." The call further specified, "we also earnestly recommend the united support of the state and county tickets; and that the candidates for the Legislature pledge themselves to abide the action of the majority of their Democratic associates."

The State election occurred about six weeks later, on the 6th of August, and resulted in the triumphant success of the entire ticket nominated by the Democratic State convention in

April. The arbitrary setting aside of Claib Jackson and Reynolds by the State Central Committee was generally ignored by the faithful, who voted for those distinguished statesmen, notwithstanding their taint of Douglasism, because they were the regular nominees of the then (supposedly) united party, and for other reasons of party expediency.

The Democrats opposed to Douglas in all but seven counties of the state sent delegates to the September convention. It was well understood that the purpose of this convention was to effect a radical realignment of the Democratic party of Missouri, and place it in thorough accord with that of the southern states. The program laid down for its guidance was to ratify the nomination of Breckenridge and Lane; revise the State Central Committee and ticket of Presidential electors by eliminating certain weak-kneed members; to reaffirm and emphasize the platform resolutions of the April convention, and to prepare an "Address to the People" explanatory of the proper attitude for Missouri to assume and maintain in the crisis about to confront us. Incidentally, it was intended to strengthen the faith of the wavering, to confirm the confidence of the faithful, and to rebuke the malevolent treachery of the Missouri Republican, and shameless apostasy of Claib Jackson and Tom Reynolds who openly advocated the election of Douglas.

The delegates who had represented the pro-slavery Democracy in the April convention were, with few exceptions, reelected to this assemblage. There were on this occasion no Free Soilers or Squatter-Sovereignty evangelists among us to convert our deliberations into a bedlam; nor hungry office-seekers to appease, but all were united in the earnest endeavor to adjust sundry weighty matters of public policy in accordance with the eternal principles of equity and justice.

Had Col. R. E. Acock been with us, in the Hall of Representatives at Jefferson City, when the convention was called to order, on the 20th day of September, he would doubtless have been chosen its presiding officer by acclamation. But he was at that time in very feeble health, and died in the following winter. Hon. James M. Hughes, the Missouri member of the Democratic national committee, called the delegates together, who proceeded to organize the convention by electing for its President Hon. John W. Hancock, of Greene county. The Vice Presidents chosen—one from each Congressional district—were W. J. McIlhaney, Dr. Edmonson, John T. Hughes, J. M. Fulkerson, Peter S. Wilkes, Levi Dixon, W. Y. Slack, Vincent W. Marmaduke, and Abraham Hunter. Warwick Hough and Charley Rodgers were again installed as secretaries. As in April, the delegations of each congressional district selected one of their number to constitute the committee on Resolutions, as follows: Dr. J. F. Snyder, chairman; Thomas P. Hoy, Thomas Poole, J. B. Clark, James N. Burnes, John W. Reid, M. M. Parsons, William S. Moseley and Thomas L. Snead. As neither John B. Henderson or Sterling Price were among them to interpose objections, or offer suggestions and amendments, the task of this committee was a mere formality and soon concluded. The set of resolutions the chairman drew from his pocket and read with deliberation, were, with one or two alterations of phraseology, accepted, without discussion, and presented to the convention. Their two preliminary "whereases" recited the failure of the mixed Democracy assembled at Charleston to nominate a candidate for President; and the splendid results of the convention of true Democrats subsequently held at Baltimore; and, therefore, "Resolved, that the Democracy of Missouri still adheres with unfaltering fidelity to the principles of constitutional government that the Democratic party of the nation has always upheld from adoption of the Virginia resolutions of 1798 down to the present time." Then followed declarations regarding the question of slavery in the Territories substantially the same as those adopted by the April State convention, and closing with fervent, unqualified endorsement of Breckenridge and Lane, our standard bearers "who were nominated unanimously by representatives of all the reliably Democratic states of the Union." It is scarcely necessary to add that this report of the committee was adopted by the convention with unanimity, and deafening applause. Reorganization of the State Democratic Central Committee, and of the electoral ticket, was speedily effected by striking out from both those suspicioned of partiality to Douglas and substituting in their stead well-known stalwart supporters of Breckenridge and the southern cause.

The convention was in session two days with no delegate either tardy or absent, and a constant overflowing attendance of interested spectators including many ladies. Throughout its deliberations intense enthusiasm prevailed, and strict order and decorum were maintained. On the first day stirring addresses were delivered by U. S. Senators Polk and Greene, who clearly and ably recounted the causes that led to the disruption of the Democratic party, and fixing, with stinging censure, the responsibility for its present unfortunate situation upon "that prince of demagogues from Vermont who originated the novel lunacy of Squatter Soveignty." Then Burnes, Claiborne, and other brilliant orators who championed the doctrines laid down in the Jackson Resolutions, were called for, and responded in ringing speeches that fanned the passionate ardor of the cheering multitude to a blaze of excitement, inspiring them with renewed confidence, and strengthening their hope of ultimate success.

After coming to order on the morning of the second day Judge Westley Haliburton, of Sullivan county, offered the following resolution, by instruction of the Democratic convention of his county that had passed it, and had sent him here as a delegate: "Resolved, that the electors of the Democratic party of Missouri are hereby authorized and instructed, if elected next November, to cast the vote of this state for any candidate for the Presidency; provided that by so doing the election of Lincoln can be prevented; that being the first object of every true friend of the Union." In its support the Judge said the Democrats of his county who sent him here as their representative instructed him to employ all honorable means tending to effect the reunion and consolidation of the divided party. "Nine-tenths of them," he said, "will vote for Breckenridge and Lane, but the primal and most important object is the defeat of Lincoln; the second is success of the Democracy throughout the Union; and the third is the success of the party in Missouri. The success of our principles in the Union is of more importance than success in our State, and the defeat of Lincoln of far greater importance than either.''

Mr. Burnes moved to refer the matter to the committee on resolutions. Mr. Phipps moved, as an amendment to the motion of Mr. Burnes, to lay Judge Haliburton's resolution on the table—or under it. ''For,'' said he, ''fusion, or reunion, has been offered by the Breckenridge Democracy in New York, and elsewhere, and everywhere rejected with contempt by the Douglasites. We are here to vote against proposed fusion, come from what quarter it may. The time for fusion has passed. All over the Union we have held out the olive branch, but it has been spurned. The vote of Missouri in the electoral college must and will be all cast for Breckenridge and Lane.'' The burst of cheers that greeted his remarks left no doubt that a sympathetic chord in the convention had been touched.

Genl. Ramsey, of St. Louis, in reply to Mr. Phipps, said we should be courteous to Judge Haliburton, and that inasmuch as Douglas was as pronounced a Free-Soiler as Lincoln, we could safely trust this policy resolution to the consideration of the resolutions committee. Others spoke in the same strain, and eventually the motion of Mr. Burnes prevailed, and it was so referred. There it was consigned to the tomb of the Capulets—so to speak—and heard of no more.

Having then no other special question before the convention resolved itself tacitly into ''a committee of the whole on the state of the Union.'' Hon. R. L. Y. Payton, State Senator from Cass County, an eloquent and very able statesman, opened the symposium with a speech of matchless force fiercely arraigning the Abolitionists of the North for their aggressive encroachments upon the rights of the patient, long-suffering South; and demonstrating, to the satisfaction of all present, that Douglas, though masquerading as a Democrat, was in reality a more dangerous enemy of the South than Lincoln. The sentiments and facts he so impressively presented were then echoed, reiterated, and elaborated, with theatrical and oratorical embellishments, in addresses by D.

H. Donovan, Col. Churchill, and Genl. Ranney, of St. Louis, Peter S. Wilkes, of Green County, Parsons, Buffington,, and others.

By a resolution unanimously adopted the **St. Louis Bulletin**, and **Jefferson City Examiner** were declared "worthy of the support and confidence of all true friends of the Constitution and equality of the States." Mr. Phipps offered a resolution in regard to "the dishonest and unscrupulous course of the **Missouri Republican** published at St. Louis," which elicited some caustic debate and much comment uncomplimentary to that journal, and was finally laid on the table, "as the sheet referred to was not worthy of the consideration of a Democratic convention."

The last and crowning act of this political love feast was a motion offered by Col. Hughes, and carried vociferously, requesting and empowering the chair to appoint a committee of four to draft and publish at an early date an appeal to the Democratic voters of the State; whereupon James M. Hughes and Thomas L. Snead, of St. Louis, Dr. J. F. Snyder of Polk, E. L. Edwards of Cole County, were appointed said committee. And then the Convention adjourned sine die.

Neither Governor-elect C. F. Jackson, or Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds honored the convention on either day of its proceedings with their presence. Sterling Price was there, but only as an interested looker on. After adjournment the special committee last named met at the office of the **Jefferson City Examiner** and prepared the required "Address From the Convention to the People of Missouri," which had, in fact, been amply outlined by two members of the committee before the meeting of the delegates. It was a lengthy document reviewing exhaustively the history of existing political troubles in the State and Nation, with a strong array of convincing arguments to prove that their only, and certain, solution rested in the election of Breckenridge and Lane. It was published in all the newspapers friendly to the cause, and industriously circulated in all the counties. At that time there was every reason to believe that the Breckenridge wing of the party in Missouri was largely in the majority and would elect its Electoral ticket. The fact that Missouri cast its vote for Douglas—enjoying the distinction of being the only State in the Union that did so—is explainable upon the hypothesis that a large proportion of the Breckenridge men—actuated at the last moment by the spirit of the Haliburton resolution—sacrificed principle to policy and voted for Douglas with the hope thereby of defeating Lincoln.

J. F. SNYDER.

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THE LOCATION OF THE CAPITAL OF MISSOURI.*

In the year 1804 when the province of Louisiana came into the possession of the United States, the northern portion, including the country drained by the Upper Mississippi and the Missouri and their tributaries, was known as Upper Louisiana. The fur trade was the principal business, and the headquarters of the traders was St. Louis. This was also the town where the Commandant or Governor had his headquarters. There was but little civil rule until Missouri Territory was organized in 1812.

In 1804 the Court of Quarter Sessions met at the house of Emile Yosti in St. Louis. (1) In 1812 the Legislature held its first session in the house of Pierre Chouteau, Sr. (2) In December, 1815, the second session met at the house of Madame Dubreuill, on Second street. (3) On October 26, 1818, a special session of the legislature met at E. Maury's Hotel, on Second street. (4) June 12, 1820, the convention to frame a Constitution met at the house of William Bennett, corner of Vine and Third streets, probably in the house later known as the City Hotel. (5) During the session of this convention a resolution was passed that the seat of government remain in St. Louis until October, 1826, and after that it be at some point on the Missouri river within forty miles of the Osage river. (6) The first session of the State legislature met in St. Louis September 20, 1820, at the Missouri Hotel. (7) The building is still standing at Main and Morgan streets. Thus for sixteen years or during its entire territorial existence there was no permanent building for a State capitol.

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* All of the authorities quoted by Dr. Broadhead are in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri. The files of the Missouri Intelligencer probably do not exist anywhere except in the library of this Society.—Editor.

1. Billon; Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 9.
2. Billon, 44.
3. Billon, 48.
4. Billon, 51.
5. Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser, June 24, 1820.
6. Missouri Intelligencer, July 22, 1820.

At the session of the legislature which met in 1820 five Commissioners were appointed to select a permanent seat of government, with power to select four sections of land on the banks of the Missouri river within forty miles of the Osage river.

On October 6th the bill fixing the temporary seat of government was read the third time on its passage, when Mr. Leduc, of St. Louis, moved to amend by inserting St. Louis; ruled out of order. On October 13, Mr. Geyer moved to strike out the Senate amendment, (which was to strike out Potosi and insert Cote Sans Dessein), and insert St. Louis; defeated, yeas 26, noes 29, but motion to strike out Cote Sans Dessein was carried by 24 to 11. St. Charles was then proposed but was voted down, also Franklin, yeas 12, noes 23; Florissant, yeas 7, noes 28.

Mr. Ball then moved to reconsider the vote on St. Charles. The question was put and decided in the negative, yeas 15, noes 20. Mr. Rogers of Cooper moved to insert Boonville; yeas 13, noes 22. Mr. Evans of St. Charles then moved to reconsider the vote taken and carried to strike out Cote Sans Dessein, (place fixed on by the Senate), which was carried in the affirmative. The motion of Mr. Geyer which was to strike out Cote Sans Dessein was withdrawn. The House then concurred in the amendment of the Senate (which was to strike out Potosi and insert Cote Sans Dessein) yeas 18, noes 17. Affirmative: Alcorn, Boone, Ellston, Evans, Geyer, Harris, Johnson, Leduc, Lillard, McFarland, McGirk, Munro, Musick, Rogers, Smiley, Smith, Walton and Wright; negative; Bates, Ball, Devore, English, Hudspeth,, Musick, Murphy, McFerron, Parmer, Rutter, Rolf, Rubottom, Stewart, Strother, Stephenson, Waters and Caldwell, the Speaker. (8)

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7. Missouri Intelligencer, Sept. 30, 1820. Switzler's History of Missouri, 212.

8. For the debates and votes, October 6th to 13th, see Missouri Intelligencer, Nov. 4, 1820.

On October 14th, the engrossed bill providing for the location of the permanent seat of government of the State of Missouri was read a third time and passed, and the Senate was informed thereof and their concurrence desired thereto. (9)

On October 23, a message from the Senate was received, through Mr. McGirk, stating "That the Senate do insist on the third amendment to the bill entitled 'An act to Locate the permanent Seat of Government of the State of Missouri,' and that they do recede from the fourth amendment, and the bill is herewith sent to the House of Representatives'; whereupon the House 'Resolved, that this House insist on their disagreement to the third amendment of the Senate to the said bill and request a conference on the subject of said disagreement between both houses on said bill,' " and they appointed Messrs. Stewart, Geyer and Parmer a committee for the purpose of such conference on the part of the House, and the Senate was informed thereof, and their concurrence requested to said conference. (10)

On October 24th, the House took up the bill entitled "An Act Fixing the Temporary Seat of Government of the State of Missouri," and on motion of Mr. McGirk, to fill up the blanks with the words "Franklin, in Howard County," the question being put was decided in the negative. Motions were successively made for inserting St. Charles, Boonville, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Herculaneum, and all were decided in the negative. Mr. Parmer then moved to reconsider the motion of Mr. McGirk to fill the blank with Franklin and the motion was carried; yeas 20, noes 19. (11) The legislature passed the bill fixing the temporary seat of government at St. Charles. (12) It adjourned on December 12, 1820, after a session of eighty-four days. St. Charles was agreed upon by a majority of one vote. But for the death of John Ray, of Howard, it might

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9. Missouri Intelligencer, Nov. 11, 1820.
10. Missouri Intelligencer, Nov. 18, 1820.
11. Missouri Intelligencer, Nov. 11, 1820.
12. Missouri Intelligencer, Dec. 2, 1820.

have been Franklin. The absence also of certain members, by their returning home, affected the result. (13)

The Governor issued a notice dated St. Charles, April 20, 1821, calling the Legislature to assemble on June 4th, at St. Charles. In accordance with said notice the Legislature did convene on the 4th day of June. At this session an act was passed supplementary to an act entitled, "An Act Providing for the Location of the Permanent Seat of Government." The committee of the House, at this session, on permanent seat of government consisted of Rubottom, Biggs and Allen. (14)

On November 5th the legislature met in St. Charles. On November 10th, Mr. Rubottom from the committee on the permanent seat of government, reported that the Commissioners had selected the half of a tract of land at Cote Sans Dessein containing 392 acres which has a front of 192 poles, some of which are above the lower front of the Cote and the remainder, 112 poles, below it with a depth of 114 poles. They have examined the title papers, and it appears that a patent issued to Baptiste Duchouquette and a deed of relinquishment has heretofore been made from the original patentee to Angus L. Laughan, who proposes to make a donation to the State, which donation your Committee advise shall be accepted. (15) On November 30th, the House in committee of the whole, Mr. Waters delivered a lengthy speech in opposition to the report of the committee on permanent seat of government. (16). Up to February, 1822, the consideration of the matter of the permanent seat of government had taken up much time. (17) The committee on the judiciary had the title to the land at Cote Sans Dessein under consideration and had reported on the different claims. The Commissioners recommended for the consideration of the House two places, viz.: Cote Sans Dessein and Howard's Bluff. (18) The latter place was finally selected and there the city of Jefferson was laid out.

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13. Missouri Intelligencer, Dec. 9, 1820.
14. Missouri Intelligencer, Nov. 20, 1821.
15. Missouri Intelligencer, Nov. 27, 1821.
16. Missouri Intelligencer, Dec. 18, 1821.
17. Missouri Intelligencer, Dec. 25, 1821.
18. Missouri Intelligencer, June 11, 1821.

The hills of Jefferson City rise to over 150 feet in height, but are easily climbed by long slopes up the side valleys, making the ascent easy to the hill top. The hill on which the capitol was built is steep and almost inaccessible on the river side but is easily reached by gentle slopes on every other side. Cote Sans Dessein is a long narrow hill about a half a mile or three quarters long and over eighty feet high, but only a few hundred feet wide. The river bluffs may be a mile back from this hill and are separated from Cote Sans Dessein by a flat bottom over which the river may sometimes pour its waters. There were four different tracts of land offered for the State Capital from which the Commissioners made their selection which was approved by the Legislature.

In obedience to provisions of the 14th section of the act to provide for the sale of certain lots and the building of a state house in the City of Jefferson, approved December 19. 1822, an advertisement dated City of Jefferson, January 16, 1823, (19) and signed by Josiah Ramsey, Jr., John C. Gordon and Adam Hope, Trustees, offered two hundred lots for sale on the first Monday of the next May, agreeably to the provisions of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri entitled, "An Act to provide for the Sale of Certain Lots and the Building of a State House in the City of Jefferson," the permanent seat of government of the state. The aforesaid Trustees did advertise said sale of lots; also at the same time to let the building and finishing of a good brick building sixty feet long, forty feet wide well laid and two stories high, three rooms and a passage on each floor, with a fire place well finished. The Trustees caused two hundred lots selected by them to be offered for sale to the highest bidder; Wyncook Warner cried the sale and Jesse F. Royston acted as clerk of the sale. The sale of lots amounted to $6540.75, and on the day of the sale the Trustees let the contract for the building the capitol to Daniel Colgan, Jr., for $24,739. (20)

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19. Missouri Intelligencer, Feb. 25, 1823.

20. Report of the Commissioners to the General Assembly, Nov. 7, 1824. Folio.

The Commissioners in their report to the General Assembly of date of Nov. 7, 1824, stated that the provisions of the act of the legislature providing for the building of a State capitol had been fulfilled, lots had been sold, the building was up and covered in, and that the Trustees had superintended its construction throughout. The Commissioners added certain suggestions as regards improvement of streets and alleys.

The legislature met in St. Charles from June, 1821, to December, 1826. After that it met in Jefferson City. The building still stands where the Legislature held its sessions in St. Charles. It is in a brick row on the east side of Main street between Clay and Madison. The Ruenzi Hotel stood on the corner of Madison and Main. The building next on the south of the Ruenzi Hotel and extending to Clay was the building in which the legislature held its sessions. The building was at other times occupied below by stores and by families upstairs. The Legislature used the upstairs rooms. At one time one of the large rooms upstairs was used for Episcopal Church services. The front of the row is close to the sidewalk. The building is now probably nearly one hundred years old. (21)

GARLAND C. BROADHEAD.

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21. Information as to the St. Charles building from Mr. H. C. Lackland.

DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

Isidor Loeb, Columbia, President.

E. M. Violette, Kirksville, Vice President.	Anna Gilday, Kansas City, Secretary and Treasurer.

THE JOPLIN MEETING.

The History Section of the State Teachers' Association held two sessions during the meeting of the Association at Joplin on Dec. 26-28. The first session, held on the afternoon of the 26th, was far from being what it had been intended to be. Arrangements had been made to have four papers on different subjects in Ancient, Medieval and Modern, English, and American History, and announcements had been made to that effect. But unfortunately for the success of the session three of the four men were unable to attend. The Chairman, fearing the effects of having three of the four papers read by proxies,abandoned the programme for the first session entirely, and notified the fourth man to that effect. At the first session it was necessary to explain the situation to the large crowd that had been attracted by the programme as announced. Opportunity was then given to those who remained after the situation had been explained, to discuss any topics they cared to suggest, and a few minutes were spent in discussing the "Value of the Study of Oriental History." A committee was appointed to consider the advisability of effecting a more definite organization of the history teachers of the state.

At the second session on the afternoon of the 27th, there was a fairly good attendance of history teachers. According to previous arrangements this session was given over to a round table conference on "Problems in the Teaching of History in High Schools and Academies." Miss Anna Gilday of the Manual Training High School of Kansas City was the leader of the conference and did much by her enthusiasm to make it a success.

The first problem that was considered was "The Use of Illustrative Material." Miss Ella Helm of Webb City had been assigned to lead the discussion of this topic. Instead of reading a paper upon the subject, Miss Helm brought over from Webb City her Senior Class, and had them present several scenes from the Constitutional Convention of 1787. The members of the class impersonated the different members of the Convention and went through the process of organizing the Convention by electing George Washington as President of the Convention and receiving the reports of the Committees on Credentials and on Rules and Regulations. The plans of Randolph of Virginia and of Patterson of New Jersey were given in outline, as were also the views of Madison and Hamilton. The famous speech of Franklin, in which he moved that daily prayers be offered in the Convention, was given verbatim. The whole exercise was a very pleasing and instructive one. It showed that the class had been at work with some of the original sources on the Convention and was able from that work to dramatize certain portions of it very successfully. After this exercise was over Miss Helm explained that she was accustomed to have each of her classes in American History organize itself into a Constitutional Convention and present such scenes as had been presented to the History Section. Others spoke of their efforts at dramatizing various events and epochs in history, and reported the results as well worth their extra trouble. Others spoke of the excellent results obtained from the use of pictures, stereopticon views, and the like in making real the past.

Two other topics were considered. Miss Ora Cupp of Carthage read a paper on "How to Get High School Students to Study", and Superintendent Louis Theilmann of Bonne

Terre read another paper on "Selecting the Essentials." Both were most interesting indeed. Miss Cupp's prescription for her problem was to make definite assignments of work and to let the student know that he was expected to make due effort to prepare the same. She also brought out the fact that the teacher ought to have some personal acquaintance with his students in order to awaken their interest and get them at their work in real earnestness. Superintendent Theilmann emphasized the importance of having the student see for himself what is the essential in any subject in history that is being studied. He was very much opposed to spending too much time on details for fear the student would not be able to grasp the thing that made the subject under consideration of importance. Both papers elicited much enthusiastic discussion in a free and informal way.

Two other papers were to have been read, one on "The Use of Library References", and another on "The Use of Original Sources", but those who were to have read them were not present. There would have been but little time for them however as the other topics had been of such great interest as to consume more time than had been anticipated.

At this session some rather important business was transacted. The Committee that had been appointed at the preceding session reported in favor of organizing a Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government, and recommended that the following persons be elected officers for the ensuing year and be empowered to draft a constitution: Professor Isidor Loeb, President; Professor E. M. Violette, Vice President; Miss Anna Gilday, Secretary and Treasurer. The report was unanimously adopted. This committee has made a beginning towards drafting the Constitution and may be able to finish it in time to get it inserted in this issue of the Review.

The experience of the past two years has shown that the program that deals with the pedagogical side of history teaching should be put in the form of a round table conference. Such a program eliminates the long papers and gives ample opportunity for free and informal discussion of questions regarding methods of teaching. The interest that was awakened in the program for the first day's session this year, as was indicated by the large attendance, seems to warrant the assertion that it would be advisable to have a part of the program of every meeting of the Society given up to the reading of papers on topics in history. If men and women who have made a specialty of certain fields of history will consent to prepare papers on certain topics within their special fields, and give in them the results of their investigation, they will lend an additional interest to the meetings. It is to be hoped that the failure to carry out this part of the program this time will not influence those who have charge of the programs for future meetings of the Society so that they will not undertake to realize this plan.

E. M. VIOLETTE.

Kirksville, Missouri, Jan. 1, 1908.

SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI.

The annual meeting of the Society was held in the Academic Building of the State University at Columbia, December 17, 1907.

Papers were read as follows:

The Bethel and Aurora Community

W. G. Bek, Instructor in the University of Missouri

The State Archives at Jefferson City

Jonas Viles, Professor in the University of Missouri

The Democratic State Convention of 1860 (read by title).

Dr. J. E. Snyder, Ex-President of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Rufus King and the Missouri Compromise

F. C. Hockett, Professor in Central College

The Spanish in the Revolutionary War

C. W. Alvord, Professor in the University of Illinois

The Nativity of the Early Settlers of Columbia, Mo.

J. M. Wood

The President of the Society, Dr. Hamline E. Robinson, having died during the year, Dr. Isidor Loeb, the First Vice President occupied the chair.

The following trustees were elected for a term expiring with the annual meeting in 1910:

Father John Rothensteiner, St. Louis.
Dr. John H. Britts, Clinton.
J. West Goodwin, Sedalia.
Chas. M. Harvey, St. Louis.
Dr. Isidor Loeb, Columbia.
W. R. Nelson, Kansas City.
L. A. Martin, Chillicothe.

The Secretary, F. A. Sampson, read his annual report showing that the accession list of the library had increased 1,555, now numbering 14,003. Of pamphlets and of duplicates not appearing in the accession list the increase had been about as in former years. Since the last meeting 159 persons applied for membership, making the total membership at this date 246.

The names of these 159 persons were presented and they were all elected members.

The following persons were elected Corresponding members of the Society:

Judge John F. Philips, Kansas City; Hon. Phil E. Chappell, Kansas City; Judge John F. Parkinson, Kansas City; Judge Walter B. Douglas, St. Louis; Miss May Simonds, St. Louis; Hon. Chas. P. Johnson, St. Louis; Dr. G. C. Broadhead, Columbia; Hon. Louis Houck, Cape Girardeau; Judge John L. Thomas, DeSoto; Judge E. H. Norton, Platte City; Warren Upham, Sec. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.; R. G. Thwaites, Sec. Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wis.; Geo. W. Martin, Sec. Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; Thos. M. Owen, Director Department of History and Archives, Montgomery, Ala.; Prof. C. W. Alvord, Sect. Illinois Historical Library Commission, Springfield, Ill.; Prof. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Sect. State Historical Society of Iowa; and Dr. J. F. Snyder, Ex-Prest. Ill. State Historical Society, Virginia, Ill.

In the meeting of the Executive Committee the following officers were elected:

President, W. O. L. Jewett, of Shelbina.
First Vice President, Dr. Jonas Viles, Columbia.
Second Vice President, Dr. Isidor Loeb, Columbia.
Third Vice President, John W. Million, Mexico.
Fourth Vice President, W. R. Nelson, Kansas City.
Fifth Vice President, W. R. Painter, Carrollton.
Sixth Vice President, Perry S. Rader, Jefferson City.
Treasurer, R. B. Price, Columbia.

NOTES.

The War Department is compiling a complete roster of the Confederate soldiers, and Capt. James W. Allen, Missouri Trust Building, St. Louis, has charge of collecting the data for Missouri. He has already sent to Washington over 3,000 documents from which lists are made. Veterans, Sons of Veterans, and Daughters of the Confederacy are earnestly requested to send documents to Capt. Allen, and all such documents will be returned to the owners.

A late report of the Kentucky State Historical Society shows that it is getting many oil paintings of Governors and other prominent people of the State. It is to be hoped that the friends or relatives of prominent Missourians will give to our Society portraits to be preserved in its collections.

The Daughters of the American Revolution in Kentucky have erected a monument on the site of Fort Boonesboro which was established by Daniel Boone 132 years ago. The Legislature failed in several sessions to pass an appropriation for the purpose, and the ladies of above organization finally took up the matter and accomplished it.

NECROLOGY.

Simmons, Hon. James R., was a member of the 34th General Assembly, 1887, from Texas county. He died at his home in Simmons, Nov. 12, 1907. He was born in Marshall county, Tennessee, January 10, 1848; came to Missouri with his father, Lewis Simmons, when he was seven years old, where his father located on Piney river, and his home ever after was within three miles of that place. His father died in 1864, leaving him the oldest child of the family, and he was able to get only a common school education. He was an active farmer and stock dealer.

He was one of the electors on the National Palmer and

Buckner Democratic ticket, and a State Committeeman from his district. He was a Mason and Odd Fellow and was buried by Cabool Masonic Lodge.

W. H. Adams, the first publisher of a weekly paper and later of the first daily paper in the State of Kansas, died at Springfield, Mo., Dec. 13th, at the age of 84 years.

In September, 1854, he went to Leavenworth, Kansas, taking with him a plant for a newspaper. On arriving there he was unable to secure a building and he set up his plant under an elm tree on the banks of the river at the foot of what was then Front street, and under that tree the first paper published in Kansas, the Kansas Herald, dated September 14, 1854, was issued.

In 1860 Mr. Adams sold his plant, and bought the Union at Atchison, and changed it to a daily upon the day that Fort Sumpter was fired upon. A year later he sold it and started the Daily Inquirer at Leavenworth. His office was afterward sacked by a mob. He was engaged in other papers, and only lately retired from active work.

John Welborn, was born near Aullville, Lafayette county, Missouri, November 20, 1857; was educated in the common schools and Warrensburg Normal School; and admitted to the bar at an early age. He served as recorder of the City of Lexington and afterwards as mayor. Governor Dockery appointed him a curator of the Warrensburg Normal School, and in 1904 he was elected to Congress from the Seventh Congressional District on the Republican ticket, but failed of election two years later. He died at Lexington of paralysis October 27, 1907.

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GENERAL ETHAN ALLEN HITCHCOCK:—SOME ACCOUNT OF A MISSOURI AUTHOR SOMEWHAT NEGLECTED BUT WHOSE WRITINGS WILL LIVE WHEN MORE POPULAR WRITERS ARE FORGOTTEN. *

By reason of his long continued connection with military affairs in Missouri, his residence and literary activity in our metropolis, St. Louis, his relation with families still prominent in our social, business and political circles, we may justly claim General Hitchcock as a Missourian and a Missouri author, and as such he is a most fitting subject for consideration by this Historical Society.

It has long been a source of surprise to the writer that this eminent man has been permitted to become almost forgotten by this generation. His character, his writings, his public positions, would all seem to have entitled him to great recognition, and yet he and his books are wholly unknown to many otherwise well informed citizens of our state. It is to correct this, to place his work somewhat publicly before our people, and to

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*A paper read by H. E. Robinson, President State Historical Society at its annual meeting, Columbia, Mo., December, 1905.

seek to gain for him at least a partial recognition of his talents, that this paper has been prepared.

Ethan Allen Hitchcock was the son of Samuel Hitchcock, a Federal Judge of Vermont, who married May 26, 1789, Lucy Caroline, daughter of Ethan Allen of Ticonderoga fame. Their first son was Henry Hitchcock, born in 1792. In 1816 the latter settled near Mobile, Alabama, and became Attornel General of that state, and Justice of the Supreme Court. He died of yellow fever in 1839. He married Miss Ann Erwin, of Nashville, Tennessee, and two of their sons became well known residents of St. Louis. Henry, born July 3, 1829, married in 1857, Miss Mary Collier, of St. Louis, and died there March 18, 1902. And Ethan Allen, born September 19, 1835, minister to Russia and at present Secretary of the Interior.

As these descendants of Ethan Allen, as well as the subject of this sketch, partake more or less of the traits of their eminent ancestor, a slight digression in his favor will doubtless be pardoned.

Perhaps no expression attributed to a public man has ever been more widely known and quoted than the one said to have been used by Ethan Allen in demanding the surrender of Ft. Ticonderoga. When its British commander asked by what authority this was called for, Ethan Allen is said to have replied—

"By authority of Jehovah and the Continental Congress!"

And yet, Prof. Davie Butler, of the Wisconsin State University used to tell with great glee that he had talked with a member of the storming party, who was near Allen when surrender was demanded and that the latter really said—

"Come out of there you damned old rat!"

Thus modern iconoclasm demolishes tradition, and yet it is to be doubted whether the high sounding declaration ascribed to Allen will ever be forgotten.

On the Sunday following his capture of Ticonderoga, Allen attended divine service in the little meeting house at Bennington, Vermont. The clergyman who was as devout as he was loyal, took occasion, during the long prayer that preceded the sermon, to give all the credit of the exploit to the God of battles. Allen's notion of the share which Providence had in the matter did not exactly agree with his pastor's. He held his peace for some time, but finally, overcome by a passionate impulse, arose in his seat and called out—

"Parson Dewey! Please mention the fact that Ethan Allen was there!"

There were three of the Allens resident in Vermont when the Revolutionary war broke out, Levi, Ira and Ethan. Levi was a Tory, and his lands were confiscated, he always claimed through the machinations of Ira. Miss Abby M. Hemenway, in her Gazetteer of Vermont, preserves the following doggerel, said to have been written by Levi while smarting under this loss.

"THE THREE BROTHERS.

ETHAN.

Old Ethan once said o'er a full bowl of grog,
Though I believe not in Jesus, I hold to a God,
There is also a devil—you will see him one day
In a whirlwind of fire take Levi away.

IRA.

Says Ira to Ethan it plain doth appear
That you are inclined to banter and jeer
I think for myself and I fully declare
Our Levi's too stout for the prince of the air
If ever you see them engaged in affray
'Tis our Levi who'll take the Devil away.

LEVI.

Says Levi your speeches make it perfectly clear
That you both seem inclined to banter and jeer
Though through all the world my name stands enrolled
For tricks, sly and crafty, ingenious and bold

There is one consolation which none can deny
That there's one greater rogue in this world than I.

ETHAN AND IRA.

"Who's that?" (they both cry with equal surprise)

LEVI.

'Tis Ira, 'Tis Ira, I yield him the prize."

Ethan Allen Hitchcock was born at Vergennes, Vermont, May 18, 1798. He was appointed to West Point from Vermont and served there as a cadet from October 11, 1814, to July 17, 1817, when he was graduated as 3rd Lieut. of Artillery. He was made 2nd Lieut. of the 8th Infantry on February 13, 1818, and 1st Lieut. October 31, 1818. He was Adjutant of the Infantry from June 1, 1819, to June 1, 1821, then being made 1st Lieut. of the 1st Infantry.

He was appointed Assistant Instructor of Tactics at West Point, February 1, 1824, which position he filled most acceptably to April 20, 1827. He was promoted to Captain 1st Infantry, December 31, 1824. He served as Commandant of Cadets and Instructor of Infantry Tactics from March 13, 1829, to June 24, 1833. Those who were under him at this time speak in the highest of terms of his ability as an instructor and his capacity for exciting the ambitions of both the careless and the dullard. Francis H. Smith, of Virginia, in his paper, "West Point Fifty Years Ago," says—

"Capt. Hitchcock was a chivalrous officer, a good tactician, a high toned gentleman, and enjoyed the respect and confidence of our class."

Hitchcock served during the Seminole war in Florida, in 1836, and was promoted Major of the 8th Infantry, July 7, 1838. In 1840 he was stationed at Jefferson Barracks in St. Louis, and ever thereafter preserved a warm feeling for Missouri and Missourians. In 1842 he was in Florida again, being promoted Lieut. Col. 3rd Infantry, January 31, 1842. In 1843 and 1844 he was in command at Jefferson Barracks, where he established evolutions of the line, creating the greatest interest in military exercises and duties, and making this post a school of application for officers in their higher duties.

He served throughout the war with Mexico in 1847-8, being brevetted Colonel, August 20, 1847, for gallantry at Coutreras and Cherubusco, and brevetted Brigadier General September 8, 1847, for gallantry at Malino del Rey. In 1848 he was detailed for some time at Independence, Missouri, mustering out Mexican War volunteers.

On April 15, 1851, he was promoted Colonel of the 2nd Infantry, and on July 9 of the same year he was placed in charge of the Military Division of the Pacific, at San Francisco, which position he filled until May 21, 1854. While occupying this command it was Col. Hitchcock's privilege to render his country an important service, which is thus told by General Cullum in his memoir of Hitchcock, privately printed in 1882:

"While he was in charge of the Military Division of the Pacific, Col. Hitchcock broke up Walker's filibustering expedition, and thus stopped a treasonable effort to seize Sonora and extend slave territory, the scheme of disloyal plotters in California. The plotters of treason who had failed in their design, soon wrecked their vengeance through the then secessionist Secretary of War (Jefferson Davis) by ostracising this loyal soldier from his high command to a nominal one at Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Hitchcock having been threatened with paralysis, asked for a four months leave of absence from General Scott. Secretary Davis had a controversy with General Scott over this, which resulted in Davis ordering Hitchcock to Ft. Pierre. Knowing this to be spite work, Hitchcock asked an extension of his leave of absence, and in event of this being refused, tendered his resignation, expressly stating however, that if his services were deemed indispensable, he, although a decided invalid, would go to Ft. Pierre at all hazards, 'as nothing would be further from his purpose than to jeopardize a reputation which had continued unblemished during a period of nearly forty years in the army.' The Secretary accepted Hitchcock's resignation October 18, 1855, having already refused his extension of leave of absence. Thus, as stated by General Scott, was a most meritorious officer forced out of service by the Secretary's oppressive orders in denying a simple indulgence at a time when there was no urgent reason for his presence at a remote post."

After his resignation in 1855, Colonel Hitchcock took up his residence in St. Louis, where he devoted himself to literary pursuits, which will be more fully detailed further on.

When the civil war came on, Colonel Hitchcock was of course ardently on the side of the Union. His advice was sought by those in power, and he was the author of the proclamation issued by General William S. Harney in 1861, denouncing the State Military bill, etc.

In 1862 he was called to Washington and appointed Major General of Volunteers on February 10 of that year. He was assigned to special duty under the Secretary of War on March 17, 1862, being a special legal military advisor to President Lincoln, and served in this capacity until October 1, 1867. He was also made Commissioner for the Exchange of Prisoners, November 15, 1862, serving as such until October 1, 1867. He was twice offered the Governorship of Liberia, which he declined. On October 1, 1867, he was mustered out of the United States service.

General Hitchcock married late in life, and after being mustered out, made his residence at Sparta, Georgia, where he died August 5, 1870, aged 72 years. His remains were taken to West Point and reinterred there December 14, 1871.

General Hitchcock inherited much of the personal appearance and military determination of his grandfather, Ethan Allen, as well as the judicial traits of his father, Samuel Hitchcock.

Perhaps the best characterization of this eminent man is that made by General Cullum in the little work heretofore referred to, and as such it is here presented.

"As a soldier for the Republic for nearly half a century, he was noted as an accomplisehd officer, professionally well-informed, a skillful tactician, able in administration, a rigid disciplinarian, just as a commander, kind and genial to his comrades, and persistent in usefulness manifested in his high sphere of duty during two great wars. Whatever his position, he conscientiously discharged the functions of his office, whether instructing and governing Cadets at West Point; giving attention to the drill and discipline of his regiment in the barrens of Florida; teaching system and grand tactics at Jefferson Barracks; protecting the wild savage on the frontier; crushing lawlessness in his Pacific command; or winning by zeal and intelligence the confidence of his chiefs, both in Mexico and at the Capital.

"As a scholar, without being classically educated, he became eminent for his erudition, in ancient, mediaeval and modern literature. He reveled in choice libraries, possessed a curious collection of rare volumes and never was satiated with books. Though his mind had a strong legal bias, and exhibited considerable mathematical power, his passionate fondness for metaphysical research and philosophical disquisitions led him into many original and strange investigations. When he had made of them a careful study, his conclusions were clear and precise; but such was the integrity of his mind that he was ever open to conviction, never obstinately dogmatic, and always sought for further light—till his judgment became so fixed that it could not be shaken except by irresistible logic or an overwhelming array of facts. His love of study infused its influence in his whole command, his young officers being as noted for scholarly culture as for soldierly superiority.

"As a writer, his style was remarkable for its clearness. force and precision; his pen adorned all it touched, and against an adversary's sophistry was sharper than a two-edged sword; and his remarkable versatility, eloquence of reason, skill in dialectics, philosophical analysis, subtlety of spiritual perception and vigor of thought challenged our highest admiration.

"He was no sectarian, nor could he be shackled with Procrustean articles of faith. His own guileless life, following the guidance of the Gospel Spirit of Truth, is the best interpreter of his doctrine.

''As a man, his modest impressive manners inspired confidence and respect. In contrast to his almost childlike simplicity and womanly tenderness was a Roman's resolution, and the martyr's devotion to principle; and interwoven with the quick intelligence, mental dignity, and love of the ideal and spiritual pertaining to his student life, were refined tastes, a delicate susceptibility of beauty, and a passionate love for the concord of sweet harmonies, being himself an excellent musician. With these rare traits of character, were combined the finest impulses, and his heart abounding with generous emotion, would, while denying all luxuries to himself, lavishly bestow of his means to the needy, saving by his frugality what was secretly spent for the maintenance of the poor and the education of the young. His sympathy with the interests and regard for the feelings and welfare of those around him were equal to his charity; hence, he was almost idolized by those who were the recipients of his bounty, and knew the purity and beauty of his nature. He was also the center of a wide circle, embracing the good, the cultivated and the eminent, upon whom his death fell with the solemn pathos of a deep calamity.''

General Hitchcock wrote many fugitive articles, controversal papers, critical notices, biographical sketches, etc. In 1846 he issued privately a small pamphlet entitled, ''The Doctrines of Spinoza and Swedenborg Identified in so far as they claim a Scientific Ground.'' He points out some very remarkable resemblances between them, quoting largely from both, showing almost an identity in their doctrines and principles, especially of God, of Knowledge and of Salvation. This pamphlet was about all embodied in his ''Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher'' published in 1858 and 1865.

In a private letter to Hitchcock, dated December 25, 1846, Theodore Parker says of this parallel:

''I have long been aware of a certain union in their ideas of God, and of his immanency in matter and spirit; only I thought Spinoza perhaps the more rational of the two in that matter, though I think both make the world a sort of Dutch clock. I never thought the similarity extended as far as you have shown it does. Henry Heine, the wittiest and wickedest of modern writers, says that many a philosopher when walking in a deep forest of thought, has fancied he was treading new ground, original and all alone. when suddenly he has found himself confronted face to face with the awful features of Benedict Spinoza. I think you have shown that Swedenborg must have had Spinoza upon his mind when he wrote. It is impossible that Emanuel should have omitted to read Benedict for he read everything and reveled in the mystics, old, middle-aged and modern. I like your view of Swedenborg. He was a great man, and is made ridiculous when men worship him and stop not at his limitations. I reverence his genius most profoundly, as I do that of Spinoza, though I worship neither. I hope justice will be done at length to both Spinoza and Swedenborg, and I thank you for writing this little tract to show this agreement in their Scientificals."

"General Hitchcock was on a sick leave of absence in 1849-50 which he spent in Europe and the East, returning home, as General Cullum says, "replete with mystic lore." In July, 1854, he bought in New York his first alchemical book, "Arcanum, or the Grand Secret of Hermetic Philosophy," which so fascinated him that he devoted his entire attention to that subject, and his works published thereafter all treat of a spiritualized hermitic philosophy, inculcating the idea that the pursuit of alchemists was not so much that of gold as it was the study of man. His researches soon bore fruit in—

"Remarks upon Alchymists, and the supposed object of their pursuits; showing that the Philosopher's Stone is a mere symbol, signifying something which could not be expressed openly, without incurring the danger of an auto de Fe. By an officer of the United States Army (printed for private circulation.) Carlisle, Penn'a. Printed at the Herald Office, 1855." 8 vo. pp. 40.

The advertisement to the reader is dated Carlisle Barracks, March, 1855, and signed E. A. Hitchcock, U. S. Army.

This little pamphlet had the honor of being reviewed in the Westminster Review for October, 1856. The dissent of this reviewer from his views caused General Hitchcock to carefully go over his conclusions, and, indirectly at least, induced the further publication of his works, all bearing upon the same theory.

General Cullum, in his little work heretofore quoted, further says of Hitchcock—

"All his life he had been a student, whether reveling in fine libraries at West Point and Washington, or delving among his own choice volumes, ever his companions, whether among the everglades of Florida, or the wilds of the Western frontier. Of books he never had enough, and would spend his last penny to possess them. With Spinoza, Plato and the Neo-Platonists he first became familiar, then was much interested in Swedenborg's works, and Rossetti's Anti-Papal Spirit, and finally went into an elaborate course of reading of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, Spenser, etc. In many of these writings he discovered a double sense, one for the general reader, and the other for the members of a society possessed of the key of interpretation, which ramified all over Europe and had an existence as far back at least at A. D. 1000. This society was composed of the most learned and scientific men, whose intelligence was in advance of the world, enabling them to see the errors of the Roman church, which, however, by its power, controlled and restrained these men from the free expression of their opinions. In consequence of this, the literary men of those ages avoided persecution, imprisonment and death, by the use of a controversial language, the exoteric or outward import of which appeared friendly to the party in power, while its esoteric or secret meaning was in direct hostility to the Church, and clearly understood to be so by the initiated. To point out to his friends the extraordinary evidence of this symbolism gave Hitchcock the greaest gratification and many fragments which he then wrote on these curious and interesting discoveries, were subsequently developed in his published writings.

"The result of his studies of the "Problem of Life" is given in his eight published volumes, which, though not much read by this busy money making world, have made their lodgment in the Ethical mind of the age, and are yet destined to be more fully appreciated by coming philosophical thinkers. "Christ the Spirit" is the most profound of all Hitchcock's writings and we can scarcely think of a theologian, living or dead, who might not with profit sit at the feet of this brave soldier and listen to him as he talks about religion."

The following complete list of General Hitchcock's printed works is the first we have ever seen. All of the mentioned books are in the possession of the writer with the exception of the first one.

I.

The Doctrines of Spinoza and Swedenborg Identified in so far as they claim a Scientific Growth 1846.

The above title is as given by General Cullum. I have never seen the book. Hitchcock refers to it on page 264 of his "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher."

II.

Remarks upon Alchymists, and the supposed object of their pursuits: showing that the Philoso-Stone is a mere Symbol signifying something which could not be expressed openly without incurring the danger of an auto de Fe. By an officer of the United States Army. (Printed for private circulation.) Carlisle, Penn'a. Printed at the Herald Office 1855. 8 vo. pp. 40.

In this book he says that in July, 1854, he bought in New York his first alchemical book "The Arcanum, or the Grand Secret of Hermetic Philosophy" whence his studies grew. (This book was by Espagnet.)

There is a copy in the Boston Public Library.

The advertisement to the reader is dated Carlisle Barracks, March, 1855, and signed E. A. Hitchcock, U. S. Army.

III.

Remarks upon Alchemy and the Alchemists. Indicating a method of discovering the true nature of Hermetic Philosophy;

and showing that the search after the Philosopher's Stone had not for its object the Discovery of an agent for the Transmutation of Metals. Being also an attempt to rescue from undeserved approbrium the reputation of a class of Extraordinary Thinkers in Past Ages.

"Man shall not live by bread alone."

Boston: Crosby Nichols and Company, iii Washington Street. 1857. 12 mo. pp 307. 2nd Edition.

IV.

Swedenborg, A Hermetic Philosopher, Being a sequel to Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists showing that Emanuel Swedenborg was a Hermetic Philosopher, and that his writings may be interpreted from the point of view of Hermetic Philosophy. With a chapter comparing Swedenborg and Spinoza. By the author of Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists.

"One truth openeth the way to Another." New York: D. Appleton & Company, 346 and 348 Broadway. 1858. 12 mo. pp 352.

Second Edition. (Same title.)

New York: Published by James Miller, Successor to C. S. Francis, 522 Broadway, 1865. 12 mo. pp 352.

V.

Christ the Spirit. Being an Attempt to state the Primitive View of Christianity. (Mottoes.) By the Author of "Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists," and "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher. St. Louis, Mo. L. Bushnell. For sale by Charles S. Francis and Co., New York, Crosby, Nichols, Lee and Co., Boston, John Pennington and Son, Philadelphia, 1860. 12 mo. pp xvi. 375, reverse blank.

Second Edition Enlarged. (Same title.) New York. For sale by C. S. Francis & Co., New York, Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co., Boston; John Pennington & Son, Philadelphia, 1861.

12 mo. pp XXXIX, reverse blank, 465, reverse blank.

(Part Second.) (Same title.)

1861. pp XXVIII, 452.

Christ the Spirit, Being an Attempt to state the Primitive View of Christianity. (Mottoes.) By the Author of "Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists," and "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher." Part First, Second Edition, enlarged (cut) Third Edition. New York: Published by James Miller (successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway. 1864.

12 mo. pp XXXIX, reverse blank, 452.

Part Second (same title).

VI.

The Red Book of Appin; A Story of the Middle Ages .With Other Hermetic Stories and Allegorical Fairy Tales. With Interpretations. By the author of "Alchemy and the Alchemists," "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher" and "Christ the Spirit."

New York: Published by James Miller (successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway, 1863.

16 mo. pp 297. reverse blank. Errata 1 leaf.

Second Edition—The Red Book of Appin, A Story of the Middle Ages. With other Hermetic Stories and Allegorical Tales. A new Edition. Enlarged by A Chapter of the Palmerin of England. With interpretations, and Remarks upon the Arabian Nights Entertainments. By the Author of "Remarks on the Sonnets of Shakespeare," "Remarks on Spencer's Colin Clouts Come Home Againe," &c. New York. Published by James Miller (successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway.

M. D. CCCLXVI. 12 mo. pp 298.

The added matter to this edition begins on page 191.

VII.

Remarks on the Sonnets of Shakespeare; With the Sonnets. Showing that they belong to the Hermetic Class of Writings and explaining their general meaning and purpose. By the Author of "Remarks on Alchemy," "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher," "Christ the Spirit," and "The Red Book of Appin, with Interpretations."

New York: Published by James Miller (successor to C.S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway. 1865. 12 mo.

Second Edition: (Same title and publisher.)

1867. 12 mo. pp XXVI. 356.

VIII.

Spencer's Poem. Entitled Colin Clouts Come Home Againe, Explained; with Remarks upon the Amoretti Sonnets, and also upon a few of the minor poems of other early English Poets. By the Author of "Remarks on the Sonnets of Shakespeare," to which this volume is designed as a Companion.

New York: Published by James Miller (Successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway. M. D. CCCLXV. 12 mo. pp 306.

IX.

Notes on the Vita Nuova and Minor Poems of Dante, together with the New Life, and many of the Poems. By the Author of "Remarks on the Sonnets of Shakespeare," etc.

New York: Published by James Miller (Successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway. 1866.

12 mo. pp 377. reverse blank.

HITCHCOCK'S INTRODUCTION TO ALCHEMY.

In his "Swedenborg A Hermetic Philosopher," Hitchcock gives some interesting details regarding his Alchemical Library, as follows:

"A mere accident—a very casual circumstance—some three or four years ago, (*) threw into my hands a small volume on Alchemy, the preface to which alone satisfied me that there must have been two classes of Alchemists; and the perusal of the book assured me that, while some 'money-loving

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(*) NOTE—In 1854, he says in his "Remarks upon Alchymists" he bought in New York his first Alchemical book, "Arcanum, or the Grand Secret of Hermetic Philosophy." This was by Espagnet, much quoted by him.

sots' employed themselves in experiments upon all sorts of metals and other materials in search of gold, there was another class of men in pursuit of the philosopher's stone by very different means:—by devout contemplation upon the nature of God and of man—upon the human soul and its capacity for knowledge, for happiness, and for immortality;—and the object was a discovery of the means for attaining the true end of man; not an ephemeral pleasure, but a permanent beatitude—not a good for a day, but for all time. The impression derived from reading this one book on alchemy induced me to look further, and without much effort I obtained a considerable number of volumes, over three hundred, of a strange character, on the philosopher's stone and hermetic philosophy; some of which are of course worthless, but all of which show, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the philosopher's stone was a mere symbol for human perfection, or for something supposed to be essential to that perfection. There is not a single volume in my possession that could have been written by any one in pursuit of actual gold, though many of the works show that their authors had but very crude opinions as to the real objects of the philosophers."

HITCHCOCK'S ALCHEMICAL COLLECTION.

This library, acquired by General Hitchcock, as he says, "without much effort," less than fifty years ago, would be almost impossible to duplicate at the present time. It was presented by the family to the Mercantile Library of St. Louis, and is preserved in its entirety, one of the most valued possessions of that institution. It is beyond doubt the most complete collection of hermetic books to be found in the United States, and scholars from all over our land come here to consult its literary rarieties. It is eminently fitting that the workshop of a Missouri author has found its final resting place within the walls of such a supereminent Missouri library.

H. E. ROBINSON.

OLD LANDMARKS COMMITTEE—REPORT TO THE OLD SETTLERS' SOCIETY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1906.

RIVERS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.

We behold the valleys of Big River, the Meramec, the Joachim, the Plattin, the Little Rock, the Grand Glaze and other streams in our county and we naturally inquire how they were formed and when, and what races of men have lived and hunted and fought and died there. This county constitutes the northeastern spur of the Ozark Mountains, or "Ozark uplift." In the beginning the earth was "without form and void" and "darkness was upon the face of the deep." The whole of the globe was covered by ancient seas. In time the water receded and dry land, or island peaks, appeared. Among the first to appear were some in the vicinity of Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob. The rocks of those island peaks, first appearing above water, contain no fossils, which proves they were formed before there was any living thing on the earth, or at least any living thing having bones or shells. Prof. Dana, whose work on geology is in use in many schools as a text book, places the emergence of these archaic rocks from the water 48,000,000 of years ago. Some scientists, however, make the time much longer. At all events when these peaks first appeared in Southeast Missouri the balance of the United States was almost wholly covered by one vast sea. In process of time some great convulsion of nature lifted the Ozark Mountains out of the water, or at least the greater portion of it. These mountains, or "Ozark uplift," as they are sometimes called, formed an island, at first bounded by the Atlantic ocean shore line on the east, this line running from where the Missouri river is now south to High Ridge; thence to the Mississippi at the mouth of the Glaze; thence south about where the Mississippi is at present to the south line of Cape Girardeau county, and thence a southwest course to within a few miles of Batesville, Ark. From this Atlantic shore line this island uplift extended west to the eastern borders of Stone, Christian, Greene, St. Clair, Henry, Pettis and Cooper counties. The Pacific ocean bounded this island on the west and arms of the seas bounded it on the north and south along about where the Missouri and White rivers now run. The whole Ozark region was not, at first, lifted above the sea. A spur, still under water, crossed the Mississippi at Grand Tower and extended from thence to Shawneetown on the Ohio. Portions of the uplift, still under water, extended from the west line of the island, as given above, across Southwest Missouri into Southeast Kansas, Northeastern Indian Territory and Northwestern Arkansas. The stratified rocks of the "Ozark uplift" are over 2,000 feet thick and Prof. Dana thinks it reqnired about nineteen million of years to form them. During this period the lead bearing rocks of St. Francois and adjoining counties were laid down. Marine shells are found in the rock formations of this region, but no fossils of fishes are found in them, which proves that this uplift occurred prior to the appearance of fishes or the higher orders of vertebrate animals in the seas. This uplift, at first, was a slightly dome shaped plain, without valleys or ravines. At the time of the uplift the sites of High Ridge, Selma and Rush Tower were on the Atlantic seaboard; the site of St. Louis was several hundred feet under water, twenty miles east of the sea shore and Springfield was under the Pacific twenty miles west of its shore line.

As the rains fell upon the original plain their surplus waters were turned hither and thither by trivial inequalities as they sought their way down its gentle slopes and by the gathering of rills into rivulets, rivulets into brooklets and these into rivers, there developed upon the surface of this uplift a ramification of drainage lines, often very serpentine, which joined each other and when they were once fixed the surplus water of subsequent rains followed them and they became permanent guide ways to carry the waters into the adjacent seas. Thus the valleys of the "Ozark uplift" have been scooped out.

Prof. Dana estimates that this scooping out process in this section has been going on nearly thirty million of years and is still going on. Every rain removes material from the higher to the lower levels. The sources of the rivers are much higher than their mouths and so long as this condition exists the scooping out process will continue. How long it has taken to bring the valleys of the "Ozark uplift" to their present depth and dimensions no one can positively say, but that it has taken a long time to scoop out the valley of Big River, for instance, which is in places many miles from hilltop to hilltop, all will admit, especially when it is known the cutting down has been through solid rock hundreds of feet thick, as is evidenced by the bluffs, that buttress the river in many places. The valleys and rivers of the Ozark mountains are older than the Mississippi or Missouri rivers, for the present beds of those rivers were under the ocean for long ages after the drainage lines of big River, the Plattin, the Joachim and the other streams of Jefferson county and the "Ozark uplift" had been fashioned and fixed.

After the lapse of millions of years the regions round about the "Ozark uplift" were raised above the sea, the Allegheny and Rocky mountains were formed, the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Ohio cut out their channels and the Gulf of Mexico receded from Southeast Missouri to its present limits and our country as we see it today was finished.

It must be noted that along with the upliftings of the land areas of our country, the original Ozark island was also raised many hundred feet higher than it was at the first uplift, and we find the scooping out process has left a main ridge running from Kokomo on the Rocky mountains to Barton county, Mo., dividing the waters of the Missouri from the waters of the Arkansas and thence extending from Barton county through Dade, Greene, Webster, Wright, Texas, Dent, Iron, St. Francois and Jefferson counties, to the Meramec, north of High Ridge, dividing the waters that flow south from those that flow north. One can start at High Ridge and go to the top of the Rocky mountains and not cross a single water course. This main ridge enters Jefferson county southeast of Valle's mines and runs thence via Vineland tunnel, Hillsboro and High Ridge to the Meramec, dividing the waters of the Joachim, Sandy, Glaze and Saline creeks on the east from the waters of Big River on the west. The highest elevation of this ridge in our county, near Valle's Mines, is 1,000 feet above sea level. Hillsboro is 800 feet and High Ridge 900 feet above the sea.

The buffalo and elk and bear were here first, then came the mound builder and he was followed by the Indian. Whence these races of men came no one knows but that they were here thousands of years before the advent of the white man is evident. The buffalo made the first trails across our hills and along our valleys. The Indian followed the buffalo and the white man followed the Indian, and many of the public roads of today are the old buffalo trails widened and improved. We drive and ride and walk along the same ways the vanished races of men and animals trod thousands of years ago.

But this report is not to deal with highways but with rivers. We have seen how and when the drainage of lines for the rivers of our county were formed. Now let us inquire as to the discovery and naming of our streams.

The most of our rivers were found and named by French explorers and adventurers. These were Catholic and Jesuit priests always accompanied them to carry the gospel of Christ to the savage tenants of the forest.

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

De Soto first discovered this stream near Memphis, Tenn., in 1541, and called it "Rio Grande," he being a Spaniard. The other Spanish names for this river are: "Rio Grande Del Espiriter Santo," the Grand River of the Holy Spirit; "Rio De La Palisada" and "Rio Chuchaqua." Chuchaqua is an Indian name. The French Jesuit explorers called it Riviere de St. Louis; Messipi, Messi-sippi, and Marquette gave it the name of "Riviere De La Conception," in fulfillment of a vow he made to the Virgin Mary if he was successful in his search for the "Great River." La Salle baptized it "Reviere De Colbert." (Colbert was a French statesman of 1682.) The Algonquin names of the river were Missi, great, and seepee, river, great river; Nomasi Lipou or Nomose Lipou, the river of fishes. The latter name is the one under which it was known to the Delaware Indians in their ancient traditions concerning their migrations from the west. It had other Indian names such as Mico, King of Rivers, Okimo, Chitto, Great Water Path (a Choctaw name), Meact Chassipi, Old Father of Rivers. This mighty river, the Father of Waters, leaves our eastern shore for a distance of about twenty miles or more and by it the first white explorers and settlers reached our borders.

THE MERAMEC RIVER.

The name of this river is Indian, and the early French explorers spelled is Merameg. It forms the northern boundary of our county for a distance of several miles.

ISLE AU BOIS.

This is a French name through and through. This is a small stream forming the southeast boundary of this county. The meaning of the Isle du Bois is Isle of the Woods and it no doubt derived its name from a wooded island in the Mississippi opposite its mouth. Marquette probably camped on this island in his descent of the river in 1673 and named it Isle au Bois, and the stream took its name from the island. We call it at this time the "Zile au Boy."

THE GRANDE GLAIZE.

This is another French name and signifies "Grand Red Earth." The clay lands of the hill country around Bulltown, no doubt, were the cause of its name. The word Grande in this case does not mean big or large, but beautiful, magnificent. And in this sense it has the right appellation, for the clay hills of the Glaize can not be exceeded for their surpassing beauty.

CALVEY.

This name is of French origin, but has been changed in its spelling. It was named after Calve, a French explorer. The Americans spell the name Calvey, as it is pronounced by the French.

BIG RIVER.

The history of this stream and its name is interesting and unique. About 1720, Francis Philip Renault, a Frenchman, set out from Ste. Genevieve with a party of adventurers with their Indian guides to explore and locate the silver and lead mines the Indians had told them were located forty or fifty meters to the westward. They took the Osage Indian trail, and when they reached a point where Big River mills of our times are located, they ascended the hills, and beholding for the first time the stream we call Big River, and being entranced by the marvelous beauty of the hills and the stream meandering its way among them, shaded by tall sycamore, walnut and maple trees, exclaimed in the French language, ''Grande Riviere.'' Renault and his companions did not use the word ''Grande'' in the sense of big or large, but in the sense of beautiful, magnificent, sublime. He and his party crossed this river and passed, in the search for lead unwittingly over the rich lead mines of Bonneterre on to where Potosi stands and beyond and opened a mine bearing Renault's name to this day. He brought to these mines in 1721 some Santo Domingo negro slaves he had bought on his way over from France and some French miners, and lead was mined and smelted, in a very primitive way, and taken to Ste. Genevieve on pack horses. The mines they worked were on the waters of what we call the Mineral Fork. They followed this stream to its mouth in Big River and thence to the Meramec. This stream from the mines to the Meramec was called ''Renault's Fork of the Meramec,'' and the river up from the mouth of the Mineral Fork was called Grande Riviere. As late as 1800 this river. as far down as House's Springs, was called in official documents Renault's Fork of the Meramec. Soon after this territory came into the possession of the United States, March 10, 1804, this river was known as the Negro Fork of the Meramec. How it got that name we are not advised. It may have been derived in one of two ways. In the first maps of this country under American rule, Renault was spelled as it was pronounced, Renouve. This name being copied by pen and ink, there being no type writers in those days, in the instructions sent out to the surveyors from Washington City could easily have been misunderstood for Negroe. We do not know if this was done, but it might have been and probably was done. The other way in which the name might have been changed from Renault's Fork to Negro Fork is this: About 1804-1810 lead was manufactured at what is now called the boat yard at the mouth of the Mineral Fork and carried down the river by boats to the Mississippi and thence to the markets. On one occasion a negro in the crew in charge of the boats lost his life, which caused the abandonment of that mode of transportation. This incident may have given this stream the name of Negro Fork. In the process of time the prosaic American came along and translated the word grande into big, giving the river the name of Big River, a complete misnomer, for it is in no sense big, but we can affirm without fear of successful contradiction that it is with its winding course, its settings, its castellated, cedar capped bluffs, its timber covered hills, its deep gorges and canons, one of marvelous beauty, grandeur and sublimity unsurpassed anywhere on earth, especially after the autumnal frosts have painted its forests yellow and gold and purple. Even as late as 1865 the statutes defining the boundaries of counties of the state designated this stream Big River in one section and Grand River in another.

But we must close. This report is now too long and we will leave the other streams of the county for future consideration.

JOHN L. THOMAS, Chairman.

THE CONQUEST OF ST. JOSEPH, MICHIGAN, BY THE SPANIARDS IN 1781.*

In the issue of the Madrid Gazette, March 12th, 1782, was published the following paragraph:

"By a letter from the Commandant General of the army of operations at Havana, and Governor of Louisiana, his Majesty has advices that a detachment of sixty-five militia men and sixty Indians of the nations Otaguos, Sotu, and Putuami, under the command of Don Eugenio Purre, a captain of militia, accompanied by Don Carlos Tayon, a sub-lieutenant of militia, by Don Luis Chevalier, a man well versed in the language of the Indians, and by their great chiefs Eleturno and Naquigen, who marched the 2d of January, 1781, from the town of St. Luis of the Illinois, had possessed themselves of the post of St. Joseph, which the English occupied at two hundred and twenty leagues distance from that of the above mentioned St. Luis, having suffered in so extensive a march, and so rigorous a season, the greatest inconveniences from cold and hunger, exposed to continual risks from the country being possessed by savage nations, and having no pass over parts covered with snow, and each one being obliged to carry provisions for his own subsistance, and various merchandizes which were necessary to content, in case of need, the barbarous nations through whom they were obliged to cross. The commander, by seasonable negotiations and precautions, prevented a considerable body of Indians, who were at the devotion of the English, from opposing this expedition; for it would otherwise have been difficult to have accomplished the taking of the said post. They made prisoners of the few English they found in it, the others having perhaps retired in consequence of some prior notice. Don Eugenio Purre took possession in the name of the King of that place and its dependencies, and of the river of the Illinois; in consequence whereof the standard of his Majesty was there displayed during the whole time. He took the English one, and delivered it on his arrival at St. Luis to Don Francisco Cruyat, [sic] the commandant of that post.

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* Read before the State Historical Society of Missouri December 17, 1907.

"The destruction of the magazine of provisions and goods which the English had there (the greater part of which was divided among our Indians and those who lived at St. Joseph, as had been offered them in case they did not oppose our troops) was not the only advantage resulting from the success of this expedition, for thereby it became impossible for the English to execute their plan of attacking the fort of St. Luis of the Illinois; and it also served to intimidate these savage nations, and oblige them to promise to remain neuter, which they do at present." (1)

The account of this expedition as it is narrated in the Madrid Gazette has been followed generally by historians of the West during the Revolutionary days. (2) The customary interpretation of this account may best be exhibited by quoting from a recent work: "Spain had rendered the Americans a great service by enabling Clark to hold what he had already conquered from the British, but she acted with no friendly intent, as her later movements were to show. Though she did not dare, while an ally of France, to attack the territory in Kentucky and Tennessee, where the American settlers were actually in possession, yet she did send an expedition, January, 1781, to capture St. Joseph, a Michigan fort in British hands. The daring exploit was successful, and upon the temporary possession of this single post Spain was suspected of trying to

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1. Sparks, Dipl. Correspondence, IV, 425.

2. Windsor, Nar. and Crit. History, VI, 743; Windsor, Westward Movement, 188; McCoy in Mich. Pioneer Collections; XXXV, 549. An exception must be made of Hon. John Moses, who in his History of Illinois, I, 171, points out that the facts do not bear out the Spanish report.

build up a claim to the western territory north as well as south of the Ohio." (3)

Like all recent accounts this interpretation of the Spanish expedition to St. Joseph is based upon an essay by Edward G. Mason in his "Chapters from Illinois History" (4), where he tells the story of this "March of the Spaniards across Illinois" in eighteen pages with no more information on the subject than is afforded by the brief description in the Madrid Gazette; but his description gives evidence of such detailed knowledge that it has carried conviction with it.

Besides the literary importance of this event it acquired a certain diplomatic prominence from the use that the Spanish made of it. Without doubt the demands of diplomacy are responsible for the insertion of this narrative in the Madrid Gazette, for by March 12th European diplomats had become interested in the possible claims to the American soil. When in July, 1782, Mr. Jay met the Spanish Minister, the Count d'Aranda, in conference, the latter claimed for Spain all the eastern bank of the Mississippi on account of the conquest of certain posts on that river and the Illinois made by his nation. It is difficult to judge just how much confidence Spain placed in this conquest of St. Joseph, but she certainly was disposed to make the most of it in her attempt to confine the United States to the land on the Atlantic seaboard. (5)

For more than one reason, therefore, this capture of St. Joseph in the beginning of the year 1781 is of sufficient importance to warrant a new investigation of the sources of our knowledge of the event. It is to be noted that the accounts in the Spanish newspaper and in the histories, which have been based upon this source, make prominent the following points. First, the expedition was sent out by the Spanish Commandant at St. Louis. Second, that the company was composed of Spanish soldiers and Indians. Third, that the commanding officer was a Spaniard. Fourth, that some

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3. Van Tyne, American Revolution, in The American Nation, 286.
4. P. 293.
5. Sparks, Dipl. Correspondence, IV, 478, 483, et seq.

Englishmen and property were captured. Lastly, that the country was taken possession of in the name of Spain. Historians have generally added to these their own interpretation, namely, that the Spaniard had planned this expedition solely for the purpose of acquiring a claim to the eastern bank of the Mississippi. Although the information concerning this expedition to St. Joseph is very meager, still there is sufficient warrant to suspect the truth of almost every one of these points.

Before Spain decided to declare war on Great Britain the Virginians under George Rogers Clark had already occupied the Illinois country, and by act of the Virginia Legislature there had been established the County of Illinois. The boundaries of the new county thus formed were doubtless more or less vague; but there is no evidence that the magistrates appointed to govern this territory ever exercised jurisdiction north of the Illinois river or east of Vincennes on the Wabash. (6) During the year, 1780, the county organization was still in existence, and although the greater part of the Virginia troops were withdrawn in the fall from the French villages by Clark, a small garrison was still maintained at Kaskaskia. (7)

The region north of the Illinois river was naturally claimed by both the Americans and the British, but on the whole the British lieutenant governors of Detroit and Michillimackinac regularly exercised the controling power over the Indians as far south as the northern boundaries of the county of Illinois. Within the district of Michillimackinac was the small trading post of St. Joseph, (8) situated on the river of the same name near the present town of Niles. (9) St. Joseph was the site of a Jesuit missionary station as early as 1690, and later a fort was built by the French there, and a garrison was generally maintained for the purpose of pro-

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6. Illinois Historical Collections, II, LVII.
7. Ibid, XCV.
8. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 417.
9. Consult maps printed in Mich. Pioneer Collections, XXXV, 550.

tecting the fur trade of the region. When the British first took possession of the post in 1761 it was placed in the charge of an ensign; but S. Joseph was one of those small posts, so disastrous to the British, that fell a prey to Indian treachery in the conspiracy of Pontiac. (10) After the suppression of that Indian revolt this post was never again permanently garrisoned. (11)

There has been preserved in the Haldimand Collection a census of the post of St. Joseph taken in June, 1780. At that time there were in the village fifteen houses occupied by a population of forty-eight. From the names they appear to be all French or half-breeds. The men of the village were mustered in the militia which, as in other French villages, was probably under the command of a captain of the militia, although this may not have been the case until August, 1780, at which time Governor-General Haldimand approved of Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair's proposal to send a captain of militia to St. Joseph and other places. (13)

Near the village of St. Joseph dwelt the Indian tribe of the Potawatomies. The man who exercised the most influence over these Indians was Louis Chevalier of St. Joseph, who was continually suspected of treachery by the various lieutenant governors of the region; but the latter had been obliged to maintain good relations with him because he alone was able to control the Potawatomies. (14). Although the Potawatomie Indians and the post at St. Joseph lay within the district of Michillimackinac, their relation was far closer with Detroit than with the more northern village and it was to the former place that they went most frequently. Therefore, the lieutenant-governor of Detroit was as much interested in the preservation of peace on the St. Joseph river as his colleagues at Michillimackinac. For this reason Lieutenant-Governor De Peyster of Detroit appointed, in 1780, Dagneau de

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10. Parkman, Conspiracy of Pontiac, I, 284.
11. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 439.
13. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 567.
14. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 368, 553, XIII, 53.

Quindre lieutenant and Indian agent in the vicinity of St. Joseph. (15)

The traders of the northwest drew many of their furs from the region between Lakes Huron and Michigan and disposed of a considerable amount of their goods to the Indians. St. Joseph was conveniently situated for this trade. In 1779, the principal traders of the Michillimackinac district united to form a company whose purpose was to supply the garrison and Indians with goods. This company of traders maintained a warehouse at the village of St. Joseph in order to keep the Potawatomie Indians in good humor by offering an opportunity for trade. The representatives of the company at the village were Louis Chevalier and Pierre Hurtebisse. (16)

West of the Mississippi river lay the Spanish possessions. This territory had been ceded to Spain by France in 1762, as compensation for her losses in the Seven Years' War. Besides the villages around the mouth of the Mississippi there were few settlements within the Spanish possessions. The capital of the northern district, known as Illinois, was the village of St. Louis which had been founded about fifteen years before. The population was for the most part French, and the village was ruled by a Spanish commander sent from New Orleans. From the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War the Spanish officials on the Mississippi had shown a friendly disposition to the cause of the colonists. Ammunition was bought in New Orelans, and American traders were harbored and protected in the various French villages of the river. These friendly offices continued to be given until the declaration of war by Spain against Great Britain in 1779 made it possible for the Spanish military men of the Mississippi Valley to take a more active part in the events of the region. At New Orleans was stationed Governor Galvez in command of all the territory west of the Mississippi. He was a young man, full of enthusiasm and eager to win for himself

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15. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 409, XIX, 591.
16. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 305, 499.

military renown. As soon as he learned of the declaration of war he realized the danger of his position. At none of the villages had the Spanish stationed a sufficient number of troops to guard against a well-planned invasion by the British. The province was exposed from two directions. East of New Orleans lay the British possessions of West and East Florida, from which an attack could be easily made upon the southern villages, while St. Louis at the north was exposed to an attack from Michillimackinac or Detroit. As a matter of fact a movement from both directions was planned by the British ministry for the Spring of 1780. (17) But before this plan could be put in execution, Governor Galvez, believing that an offensive would be safer than a defensive policy, opened active operations by invading the Floridas. In the fall of 1779 he took the forts at Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez, and the following spring he captured Mobile and Pensacola. (18)

The British plan as far as it included an expedition from the south up the Mississippi river was thus foiled; but the proposed attack upon St. Louis and the French villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, held by the Virginians, could be still carried out. It is unnecessary for our purpose to enter into the details of the British expedition that was sent out by Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair from Michillimackinac. It arrived before St. Louis and Cahokia on May 26, but the Spanish and Americans had received news of the proposed attack previously and were prepared to give each other mutual aid. On account of the preparations and also through the treachery of some Indian partisans belonging to the British company the undertaking was a complete failure; and after inflicting a slight loss, the British were forced to make a hurried retreat. (19) The consequence, however, of these campaigns in the north and south was to bring Spain into the very midst of western war

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17. Can. Archives B, 43, 153.

18. Van Tyne, American Revolution, in The American Nation, 286; Gayarre, History of Louisiana, 121, et seq.

19. Mo. Hist. Society, Collections, II, No. 6.

and intrigue. From this time on it was her policy to maintain her position against the British, and for this purpose she was obliged to keep on good terms with the Americans and to make common cause with them. This she did throughout the summer and fall of 1780. Immediately after the failure of the British attack upon St. Louis, George Rogers Clark sent Colonel Montgomery with a company of Virginians and French to carry the war into the Indian country around Rock river, and in this the Spaniards co-operated. (20) On July 25th, the Spanish commandant sent Gabriel Cerre to Cahokia to request the court of that village to furnish twenty-five men to join a like number from St. Louis on a reconnoitering expedition to the northward. (21)

The failure of the British to surprise St. Louis and the American Villages did not deter them from other attempts. The region around the Illinois river and as far south as Kentucky was harrassed by Indian war parties so that outlying settlements coud not be maintained. Peoria, on the Illinois river, where the Virginians had stationed captain of militia, was abandoned during the summer and the inhabitants sought refuge at Cahokia. (22)

Such was the situation in the West, when the series of events occurred that led to two seizures of St. Joseph, the last of which was to be raised to prominence by the Spanish in the diplomatic game played in Europe. In the summer of 1780 there appeared in the French villages of the county of Illinois a French officer, Augustin Mottin de la Balme, whose avowed purpose was to raise a company of volunteers to attack Detroit, and then to lead them on to Canada. It is probable that his mission was connected with a plan of Washington and the French allies to create a diversion in Canada in order to veil their real purpose of attacking New York. (23) De

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20. Illinois Historical Collections, II, 541.
21. Illinois Historical Collection, II, 59 and 61.
22. Illinois Historical Collection, II, XCIII.
23. I have discussed this question fully and quoted all the authorities in the Introduction to Ill. Hist. Collections, II, LXXXIX.

la Balme found that the French people of the villages had been estranged from the American cause by the oppressive and tyrannical acts of the Virginian officers and troops. By carefully separating the cause upheld by Congress from that of a single state, and by laying great stress on the interests of France in his undertaking, he managed to raise a force of about eighty Frenchmen and Indians. While he was thus engaged, he received naturally no support from the Virginia officers. Colonel Montgomery, in command of the Illinois troops at the time , did not seek his acquaintance, nor did he attempt to put an end to his activities. (24) Exactly how the Spanish commandant, Cruzat, received De la Balme is doubtful. The latter was in St. Louis and probably made a formal call. Governor Galvez later commended the commandant for his "prudent conduct" toward the French official. How he showed his prudence is not actually known; but Captain McCarty, a native of Cahokia and officer in the Illinois battalion, reported that, "the Spanish Commander hath given him no Countenance whatever and is Surprised he is Suffered on our Side, he being Authorized by no State or Power in America to do what he does." (25)

De la Balme chose Ouiatanon as the place of rendezvous, and here the little band was assembled on the eighteenth of October, and the white flag of France unfurled. (26) The plan of campaign was to march to the small post at Miami, thence to Detroit, where it was expected that the French inhabitants would join them. After securing Detroit, Sandusky and Michillimackinac were to be overpowered. (27) They reached Miama the latter part of October and were successful in occupying the place. (28) But the Indians soon after assem-

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24. McCarty's Journal in Ill. Hist. Collections, II, 620.

25. Galvez to Cruzat, Feb. 15, 1781. General Archives of the Indies, Seville; McCarty's Journal, in Ill. Hist. Collections, II, 621. Cruzat wrote De la Balme a letter on Sept. 29, Can. Arch. 184-2, 468.

26. Can. Arch. 184-2, 465, et seq.

27. Can. Arch. 184-2, 469, et seq.

28. De la Balme's Journal would indicate that Miami was occupied by October 27, Can. Archives, 184-2, 419 et seq., but Lieutenant Governor De Peyster says that this occurred about November 3d. Mich. Pioneer Collections, XIX, 581.

bled and attacked the party, killing thirty, among whom was De la Balme. (29)

While this force was moving on Detroit, a detachment from Cahokia under the command of Jean Baptiste Hamelin was sent against St. Joseph. During the summer that village had been the general assembling place of the Indian war parties, in which the Potawatomies generally participated; but the expedition of the Americans, French, and Spanish under the command of Colonel Montgomery, which Clark had sent, immediately after the British attack on St. Louis on May 26, to make reprisals on the Indian towns to the north and which reached the vicinity of Chicago, made Lieutenant Governor Sinclair fear the loss of St. Joseph. Knowing well the treacherous nature of the principal inhabitant, Louis Chevalier, he determined to secure him, and if we are to believe the testimony of Chevalier himself, to remove all the inhabitants of the village. Sinclair himself writes concerning this: "Wishing to get over the difficulty which I foresaw would arise from the presence of Mr. Ainse, late Interpreter at this Post, I sent him to St. Joseph's to bring in his Uncle, Mr. Chevalier, and the other lawless strange class of People at that Place, for many years settled for the sole purpose of overawing Commerce and making themselves useful for whoever did most for their services."(30) That all the inhabitants were removed, as the witnesses testify, does not appear possible, and, if they were, some must have found their way back again; but the two most important inhabitants were taken away at this critical time, and finally they went to Montreal where they still were in October of the same year. (31)

We have already seen that the company of Michillimackinac merchants had a warehouse at St. Joseph. In the fall of 1780 the company had been dissolved, but, according to the statement of its members, goods to the value of thirty thousand

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29. Mich. Pioneer Collections, XIX, 581.

30. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 569; but see the testimony of Chevalier and Ainse in Ibid, 435, 439.

31. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 579, 658.

livres were still in the village besides property of private merchants worth thirty-two thousand livers. (32)

St. Joseph was, therefore, in a weakened condition to repel the unexpected attack of the Cahokians and offered the chance of rich booty. In the little band that threatened it there were only sixteen or seventeen men; but these were successful in surprising the village at the time the Potawatomies were absent on their hunt, and took twenty-two prisoners and seized all the property of the merchants. (33) They then began to retreat towards Chicago. Lieutenant Dagneau de Quindre, who had been stationed near the village by the lieutenant governor of Detroit, immediately assembled the Indians and pursued them. He overtook the Cahokia party on December 5th at a place called Petite Fort, near Calumet river, and, upon their refusal to surrender, began the attack. Of the Cahokians four were killed, two wounded and seven taken prisoners, the others making good their escape. (34)

We have now reached the time of the famous Spanish capture of St. Joseph. When the men who had escaped from the disaster returned to Cahokia, the excitement of the villagers was intense. The loss of their citizens called for revenge and the hope of recapturing the lost booty added another incentive. The clamor for a new expedition was probably intensified by the voices of the inhabitants of Peoria, led by Jean Baptiste Mailhet, who had been forced to desert their little settlement to seek refuge in Cahokia from the Indian war bands that had been roaming in the region all summer. (35)

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32. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 367.

33. Va. State Papers, I, 465; Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 630, XIX, 591.

34. Account of Lieutenant Governor De Peyster, January 8, 1781, in Mich. Pioneer Collections, XIX, 591. I prefer this account to that related later by Sinclair of Michillimacinac, who gives the glory of this success to one of the merchants, named Campion. Evidently the merchants of Michillimacinac spread this latter report, for they sought compensation for their losses from the government and gave as their reason the brave conduct of the traders at St. Joseph. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 629, X, 465.

35. Ill. Hist. Collections, II, consult index under Mailhet.

Cahokia was at the time practically an independent village-state. The Virginia troops had been recalled to Kaskaskia in the fall of 1779, and the village was garrisoned only for a short time in the summer of 1780 after Montgomery's expedition to Rock River. (36) In the fall of the year even Kaskaskia was abandoned by the Virginians and a small company of troops under Captain Rogers was left to watch events. Even had there been American troops to call upon, the magistrates of Cahokia were so disgusted by the previous tyranny of Clark's soldiers that they would not have desired American co-operation. This alienation of the Cahokians had been intensified by the words of De la Balme, who had appealed to their manhood as Frenchmen. Also the proposed expedition was one in which the Virginians could hardly be associated, since it was to continue the work of De la Balme whom they had never recognized.

It was not strange that the magistrates of Cahokia appealed to St. Louis for assistance in this time of need, for they had co-operated throughout the summer with the Spaniards in repelling the British. Quickly the company of troops was raised; Cahokia furnished twenty men and St. Louis thirty. To these were added two hundred Indians. They were fortunate in securing the assistance of a man well acquainted with St. Joseph and a friend of the Potawatomie Indians, Louis Chevalier, the son of that Louis Chevalier, whom Lieutenant Governor Sinclair had removed from his home and who was at this time still in Montreal petitioning for redress. (37) The company started on January 2nd, just twenty-eight days after the previous defeat. Through the negotiations of Louis Chevalier with the Indians they had little trouble in surprising the few traders in the village and seizing the plunder, which was

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36. Ill. Hist. Collections, II, 541.

37. This identification is probable. Chevalier had a son, Louis or Louison, as he was called—Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 354. From the account in the Madrid Gazette it is evident that the Luis Chevalier who guided the expedition was very familiar with the Indians around St. Joseph.

divided among the party and the Indians of the neighborhood. It is evident that they did not wait twenty-four hours, for they were not in the village the day after their attack, when Lieutenant de Quindre appeared and tried without success to arouse the Indians as he had done on the previous occasion.

The sources of information upon which the foregoing account is based are not of such a character as to invalidate completely the narrative printed in the Madrid Gazette, but are certainly sufficient to throw doubt on the truthfulness of the Spanish account. We have the testimony of one unbiased witness to this affair. Captain McCarty was in Cahokia and St. Louis during the fall of the year and probably remained there through the winter. (38) In a letter to Colonel Slaughter on January 27, 1781, after mentioning the defeat of Colonel De la Balme, he continues in an incidental manner, as follows: "There now is a party of 30 Spaniards and 20 Cahokians, and 200 Indians to take revenge on the people of St. Joseph of whom we have no news as yet." (39) Besides McCarty's testimony we have a story which was told in Cahokia and which Governor John Reynolds heard from the lips of one of the survivors of the first expedition against St. Joseph. The story as interpreted by Reynolds is all wrong even to the date, but there are certain significant facts about it. The Spanish cooperation is not mentioned at all, and the expedition was entirely Cahokian, undertaken to revenge the defeat of the party which had made a previous attack on St. Joseph. The leader was Jean Baptiste Mailhet of Peoria. (40) When these bits of information are interpreted in the light of the history of the previous expedition and of conditions existing on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, a consistent story can be made out that is not in accord with the Spanish account.

Some information of value comes to us from Spanish sources. I have before me a letter written by Governor Galvez

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38. See his Journal in Ill. Hist. Collections, II, 620, and his letter in Va. State Papers, I, 465.

39. Va. State Papers, I, 465.

40. Paulette Meillet Reynolds calls him. Pioneer History of Illinois, 97.

to Commandant Cruzat of St. Louis on February 15, 1781. It is an answer to the several letters from Cruzat written between September 26th and December 22nd. Galvez takes up the subjects of Cruzat's letters in their chronological order, so that it is possible not only to know the Governor's opinion on the situation in the north but also the subjects concerning which Cruzat had written. The subject of an attack on British territory north of the Illinois river is not mentioned once, but instructions are given to maintain twelve men on the Illinois river. As late as December 22nd, eleven days before the second expedition set out for St. Joseph, Cruzat at St. Louis knew nothing about it, yet we must suppose that those who had escaped capture at the Calumet river on December 5th had reached Cahokia by that time. From the tone of the letter we should judge the Spanish governor had at heart the interests of the Americans and there is nothing to indicate that he had instructions from home to play them false. In fact his only instructions were to keep his expenses down as far as was consistent with maintaining the defense. (41)

In interpreting the facts of this expedition we must have in mind the desires of the Spanish government to gain possession of the eastern bank of the Mississippi river. There was every reason why a marauding expedition in the far west should be magnified into a Spanish military expedition by the time the account of it had reached Madrid. The game of politics demanded it.

If we turn to the English and Indian accounts of the capture of the village, there is nothing to support the theory that it was the result of a dignified military campaign such as the

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41. Galvez to Cruzat, General Archives of the Indies, Seville. Shortly after the defeat of De la Balme the people of Vincennes appealed to Cruzat for assistance, but this he felt obliged to refuse, because he considered the village by right of conquest a dependency of the United States, the allies of Spain. This reply was written December 15, 1780. Of course this answer throws no light on the attitude of Spain toward British territory in the West, but it does prove that Cruzat was acting in good faith toward the Americans in December, 1780. Fac simile from Bancroft Collection, Academy of Pacific Coast History.

Madrid paper would have us believe. The most important testimony is found in a letter of De Peyster's written at Detroit on March 17, 1781. He says: "I was favoured with your Packet of the 16th Feby on the 4th Instant. Tucker is not yet arrived hence the affair in which Mons' du Quindre acquitted himself so well [sic] the enemy returned or rather a fresh party arrived at St. Josephs and carried the Traders and the remainder of their goods off. Mr. Du Quindre arrived there the day after, but could not assemble a sufficient body to pursue them. Forty Indians had got together a few days, but as the Enemy had got too much the start they insisted upon his conducting them to Detroit in order to speak to me." (42)

De Peyster regarded the attack as made by a band of marauders and of little importance, similar in kind to the earlier one executed by the Cahokians, and there is no indication that he looked upon it as a formal military occupation of the country by the Spaniards. Yet he had learned at the Indian conference which he held just previous to the date of this letter, that Spaniards had participated in the expedition. Here the Indians excused their failure to protect the traders in the following words: "Father, I am hired by the Pottewatimies at and near St. Joseph's to acquaint you with the Reasons of having suffered the Enemy to carry off their Traders. They came to St. Joseph's at a time that all the Indians were yet at their hunt, excepting a few young men who were not sufficient to oppose one hundred white People and Eighty Indians led by Seguinack and Nakewine, who deceived them by telling them that it was the Sentiment of the Indians in general to assist the French and Spaniards—had we assembled in time, we would nevertheless have given them such a stroke as we gave those who came to St. Joseph's a few moons before." In his answer De Peyster said: "I have at different times said so much to you on the subject of the Traders and Goods entrusted with you, by the Governor of Michillimackinac, that it is needless to say any more at present—The Spaniards tell you that they are

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42. Mich. Pioneer Collections, XIX, 600.

in alliance with the Virginians and the French. They therefore offer you their hands, or threaten to destroy your women and Children—Believe me—they can never destroy them until you are simple enough to shake hands with them." The rest of the speech painted the horrors which should follow Spanish success; but this was said to deter the Indians from forming alliances with the Spaniards, as they had threatened to do, and was not inspired by what had occurred at St. Joseph. That affair seemed so unimportant that De Peyster did not think it worth while to report that Spaniards participated in it. (43)

We have now passed in review all the sources of information that are at present available concerning the seizure of the post at St. Joseph in the year 1781; and, although upon such evidence the narrative in the Madrid Gazette can not be rejected, its grandiloquent language can be considerably discounted. It is quite evident that the expedition was conceived by the Cahokians to revenge the defeat of their friends who had been sent out by De la Balme, and that a second motive was the hope of plundering the property which was known to be unprotected at St. Joseph. It is equally evident that some of the Spanish militia participated in the attack, as they had done on previous occasions. There is no evidence that the taking of St. Joseph was in accordance with instructions from the home government or even from the governor of Louisiana. In fact the contrary is true. We are still uncertain whether the Spanish flag was raised over the village and the territory taken possession of in the name of Spain. Although the English knew nothing of this, yet it may have occurred; but, if it did, the ceremony was very hurried, for the marauders did not linger at the scene of their triumph twenty-four hours. The description of the village is sufficient to show that the British resources were in no ways impaired, nor could this slight success prevent the British making other military operations in the region, as the Spanish narrative would have its readers believe.

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD.

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43. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 453. Governor Haldimand also held the matter in a like contempt. Can. Arch. 98, 46.

RUFUS KING AND THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE *

The contest over the admission of Missouri to statehood is a focal episode in American history. It has many aspects. Fundamentally it was a contest between two antagonistic social systems which moved westward along parallel lines until both sought to possess the same region west of the Mississippi. We are familiar with the story as part of the history of slavery, and as a sectional clash which foreshadowed the Civil War; but it has interesting minor aspects which have received slight attention. One of these minor phases is the relation of the Missouri question to the contemporary history of political parties.

The period of Monroe's presidency is unique in the history of American parties. With its defeat by the Jeffersonian democracy in 1800, the Federalist party began to decline, and after the War of 1812 did not even put a presidential candidate into the field, thus leaving the Democratic-Republican party without a national competitor for more than a decade. The failure of the Federalist party to recover was due to several causes. When Jefferson's party gained control of the government, it abandoned in a measure its conservative principles and acted upon the more liberal principles of Hamilton; especially, under the strong impulse given to nationalism by the second British war, its measures hardly fell behind those advocated by the Federalists. Thus the ground was in a measure cut from under the latter party. Then the Federalist opposition to the war, and the disaffection manifested in the Hartford Convention, left a stigma upon the party from which it could not free itself. Moreover, upon the restoration of peace in 1815, the United States entered upon a new course of development. Relieved from its entanglement

{ "This inequality in the apportionment of Representatives } goes with next page (213)

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* Read before the State Historical Society, December 17, 1907

in the wars and politics of Europe, which had absorbed its energies and shaped its policies, the nation turned to internal problems. In this new arena the issues were to arise which should make possible a new alignment of parties; but time was required for the realization of differences in sentiment and interest, and for the crystalization of these differences into party programs.

The country therefore presented for a time an appearance of political harmony which gave to the period the name of the "era of good feeling." But the appearance of harmony was deceptive, for the seeds of strife were not wanting. The conditions were those of unstable equilibrium, or rather, a nebulous state out of which were to be evolved new party groupings the form of which could be but dimly foreseen. The Federalists were likely, in any event, to prove a factor in the regrouping whenever it should come about. The disappearance of their central organization did not write finis to Federalist history. In certain localities they retained their supremacy for more than a decade after the war, and this local dominance was reflected by a representation in Congress which wielded an important influence. One of the possibilities, therefore, in the way of party reorganization was a regrouping around the remnants of the Federal party as a nucleus, provided ambitious and skillful leadership were at hand to discover and present to men adequate motives for so grouping themselves.

This was the status of political parties when the Missouri issue arose, and there were features of that agitation which gave it the appearance of a Federalist movement. The first of these features was the prominence of Rufus King among the opponents of the unrestricted admission of Missouri. Notwithstanding the fact that with the obliteration of party lines most of the Federalists had fused with their former opponents, so far as national politics were concerned, they were still looked upon with a degree of suspicion which did not allow men to forget that King had twice been the Federalist candidate for the vice presidency, and had ranked among the foremost leaders of his party. Any measure championed by him was consequently likely to be closely scrutinized to discover whether it masked any partisan design; and, in fact, his attitude on the Missouri question was interpreted by many in the light of his former political affiliations. This was the more natural when the nature of his arguments is examined. It is plain that the consideration which weighed most with him was not the moral evil of slavery, but the injustice of extending and perpetuating its political power. When the question came before Congress in February, 1819, King delivered the most notable speech made in the Senate in favor of the Tallmadge anti-slavery amendment to the Missouri enabling act. In this he said: "The present House of Representatives consists of one hundred and eighty-one members, which are apportioned among the states in a ratio of one Representative for every thirty-five thousand federal numbers, which are ascertained by adding to the whole number of free persons three-fifths of the slaves. According to the last census, the whole number of slaves within the United States was 1,191,364, which entitled the states possessing the same to twenty representatives and twenty presidential electors more than they would be entitled to were the slaves excluded. By the last census, Virginia contained 582,104 free persons, and 392,518 slaves. In any of the states where slavery is excluded, 582,104 free persons would be entitled to elect only sixteen Representatives, while in Virginia, 582,104 free persons, by the addition of three-fifths of the slaves, became entitled to elect, and do in fact elect, twenty-three Representatives, being seven additional ones on account of her slaves. Thus, while 35,000 free persons are requisite to elect one Representative in a state where slavery is prohibited, 25,559 free persons in Virginia may, and do, elect a Representative—so that five free persons in Virginia have as much power in the choice of Representatives to Congress, and in the appointment of presidential electors, as seven free persons in any of the states in which slavery does not exist.

was not misunderstood at the adoption of the constitution—but as no one anticipated the fact that the whole of the revenue of the United States would be derived from indirect taxes.... it was believed that a part of the contribution to the common treasury would be apportioned among the states by the rule for the apportionment of Representatives. The states in which slavery is prohibited, ultimately, though with reluctance, acquiesced in the disproportionate number of Representatives and electors that was secured to the slave-holding states. The concession was, at the time, believed to be a great one, and has proved to have been the greatest which was made to secure the adoption of the constitution.

"Great, however, as this concession was, it was definite, and its full extent was comprehended. It was a settlement between the thirteen states. The considerations arising out of their actual condition, their past connexion, and the obligation which all felt to promote a reformation in the federal government, were peculiar to the time and to the parties, and are not applicable to the new states, which Congress may now be willing to admit into the Union.

"The equality of rights, which includes an equality of burden, is a vital principle in our theory of government, and its jealous preservation is the best security of public and individual freedom; the departure from this principle in the disproportionate power and influence, allowed to the slave-holding states, was a necessary sacrifice to the establishment of the constitution. The effect of this constitution has been obvious in the preponderance it has given to the slave-holding states over the other states. Nevertheless, it is an ancient settlement, and faith and honor stand pledged not to disturb it. But the extension of this disproportionate power to the new states would be unjust and odious. The states whose power would be abridged, and whose burdens would be increased by the measure, cannot be expected to consent to it; and we may hope that the other states are too magnanimous to insist upon it." (1)

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1. Niles' Register, Dec. 4, 1819, 215 et seq.

That the political evil of slave extension was uppermost in King's mind is even more apparent from his private correspondence, where he speaks with less reserve. Writing to his son he said: "On the whole I feel much concern for the issue, which, if decided against us, settles forever the Dominion of the Union. Not only the Presidency, but the Supreme Judiciary, at least a majority of its members, will forever hereafter come from the slave Region........So that the decision of Missouri, will also determine whether the citizens of the free States are to hold even their actual political Rights, or to be hereafter debarred of some of the most important of them. Old Mr. Adams, as he is the first, will on this hypothesis be the last President from a free state." (2) After the passage of the compromise, he interpreted its significance in the following words, quoted from a letter to Gore of Massachusetts: "We....shall continue to be ruled by men who in the name of liberty and by the permission of power are ordained to be our masters, as they are the masters of the black men on whose labor they live." (3)

King's arguments were not novel, and the country associated them with Federalism. A similar stand had been taken by the leaders of that party at the time of the acquisition of the territory of which the prospective state of Missouri was a part. The purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803 had been violently condemned by New England Federalists, some of whom carried their opposition so far as to advocate secession and the formation of a new confederacy bounded by the Hudson river. The balance of power, which existed among the original states, these leaders declared, was being destroyed. The South, led by Virginia, governed the country, owing to the system of slave representation. The House of Representatives contained fifteen Representatives of the negro slaves of the South. In 1801 these Representatives of slaves determined the choice of President. The Louisiana Purchase would be divided into new slave states,

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2. Life and Correspondence of Rufus King. Vol. VI, 267.
3. Ibid, 329.

which would give the South control of the Senate also. Massachusetts therefore proposed the amendment of the constitution so as to establish the rule of representation according to free population. (4) Similar opposition was again manifested in New England in 1812, when Louisiana, the first fruits of the French purchase, was admitted to the Union. King's speech in 1819 sounded like a voice from the tomb of Federalism.

If Federalism was dead, however, its spirit of hostility to the creation of slave states west of the Mississippi seemed to have risen again. Congress adjourned for the summer of 1819 with the fate of Missouri still undecided, but during the recess a whirlwind of anti-Missouri feeling swept over the North. Everywhere mass meetings were held and resolutions passed against the perpetuation of the moral and political evils of slavery by permitting its continued existence in new states. Notable among these meetings were those held at Trenton, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore. A little later the agitation pro and con was taken up by state Legislatures both North and South, and the public excitement was shown by countless newspaper articles and pamphlets, and by the occasional burning of effigies of Congressmen whose votes during the previous session had not pleased constituents. Many of these mass meetings appointed committees of correspondence for the purpose of distributing anti-Missouri literature and organizing the opposition.

King seemed to be the center of all this furor. The resolutions of these mass meetings, the arguments of pamphleteers, the newspaper essays, reiterated the views elaborated in King's speech in the Senate. This speech, which was not reported, King himself wrote out from memory to be printed and circulated by the committees of correspondence appointed by the various mass meetings. After the Boston meeting, Webster

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4. McMaster; History of the People of the United States. Vol. III, 42-45.

wrote to King saying that the memorial adopted by the meeting added little to the view taken in his Senate speech. (5) William Tudor declared that it was owing chiefly to King that the nation had been awakened to examine the consequences of the admission of Missouri without restriction on slavery. (6) Of course, King's speech and the resolutions based on it, opposed the unrestricted admission of Missouri on many considerations. Much of King's speech was devoted to proving the constitutional right of Congress to impose conditions upon states at the time of admission to the Union. But there would have been no occasion for imposing conditions upon Missouri had there been no question as to the propriety of extending the institution of slavery. The question of the propriety of extending slavery was itself a dual one, involving both moral and political considerations, but the emphasis on the political phase of the question was so great that even John Quincy Adams recorded in his Diary that King had set on foot a concert of measures which should form the basis for a new alignment of parties on sectional grounds. (7)

If appearances led even Adams, himself once a Federalist, to believe that King aimed at a reorganization of political parties on the basis of the issues involved in the Missouri contest, it is not surprising that such was the southern interpretation of the significance of the whole affair. The South readily admitted the moral evils of slavery, but failed to see how confining it east of the Mississippi could lessen them. Jealousy of the political power of the South was, therefore, the only motive, as it seemed to southern statesmen, which could move any one to oppose the admission of Missouri either with or without slavery, as she herself might choose. Said C. Pinckney, of South Carolina in 1821: "The love of liberty, humanity, or religion" is not the cause of northern opposition to slavery in the new states. "It is the love of

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5. King; Life and Correspondence of Rufus King. Vol. VI, about 240.
6. Ibid, VI, 271-273.
7. J. Q. Adams; Memoirs, IV, 529.

power and the never-ceasing wish to regain the honors and offices of the government, which they know can never be done but by increasing the number of non-slave holding states." (8) In a similar vein Thomas H. Benton, later Senator from Missouri, recorded his conviction that "the real struggle was political, and for the balance of power, as frankly declared by Mr. Rufus King, who disdained dissimulation....It was a federalist movement, accruing to the benefit of that party, and at first was overwhelming, sweeping all the Northern democracy into its current, and giving the supremacy to their adversaries." (9) Quotations might be multiplied to show the conviction, especially in the South, that King aimed to revive the influence of the former Federalist leaders, especially himself. If he could effect the fusion of northern Federalists and Democrats on the basis of common anti-slavery principles, such a sectional party would be strong enough to control the Union or a new northern confederation if it produced secession, and in it the Federalist leaders might hope to wield the dominant influence.

In this view, southern statesmen were doubtless wrong. There is no evidence that King had any ulterior designs; his whole program was probably set forth in his public utterances, and it did not include a reorganization of parties to further personal ambition. So far as the evidence shows, he was not even the organizer of the anti-Missouri forces, as Adams' Diary alleges, however appearances may have pointed to him as the organizer. The copies of his speeches were furnished at the request of others, and his arguments were repeated because they appealed to those who heard them. His convictions were expressed in his correspondence and conversations, and proved contagious. Many were thus led of their own initiative to become local agitators. William Tudor, who got up the Boston meeting, dated his interest in the movement from a conversation at Webster's dinner-table on an occasion when he and King were fellow-guests. The Bos-

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8. Quoted in Gordy; History of Political Parties, II, 421.
9. Benton; Thirty Years View, I, 10.

ton meeting, Tudor asserted, was spontaneous, being arranged without any knowledge of similar meetings elsewhere. (10) William King, first Governor of Maine, was Rufus King's brother, and the people of that part of Massachusetts looked to Senator King as their natural champion during the contest over the united Maine-Missouri bills. These facts show King's wide influence, and explain his conspicuousness in the Missouri contest, justifying Tudor's statement that King, chiefly, awakened the nation to the significance of the issue; but they do not warrant Adams' statement that he set on foot a concert of measures which should form the basis for a new alignment of parties on sectional grounds. Evidence to this effect has not yet been produced. (& still has not -1903)

A belief contrary to fact is, however, sometimes as decisive in influencing the acts of men as a belief which agrees with the facts, and there seems to be some reason for thinking that this interpretation of King's course, whether correct or not, was an important and perhaps decisive factor in bringing about the settlement of the Missouri question by the compromise of 1820. This compromise, which admitted Missouri with slavery, but prohibited it in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of the Missouri-Arkansas line, was bitterly opposed by Virginia, as well as by a large majority of Congressmen from the free states. President Monroe inclined at first to the Virginia view, and even drafted a veto message to be used in event of the passage of the Missouri enabling act with the compromise amendment. Later he perceived grounds for favoring the compromise, but a mere rumor of his change of opinion reached Virginia and was sufficient to jeopardize his endorsement for re-election. Nevertheless, he sent his son-in-law at Richmond, a Mr. Hay, for publication in the Enquirer, what purported to be an extract from a letter written by a gentleman in Washington to his friend in Richmond, of which, it may be fairly conjectured, he was himself the writer. This letter discussed King's latest speech, and reached the conclusion that if he could not be President of the United States, he would prefer

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10. In letter cited above.

to be the first man in a new confederacy including New England and New York. Compromise was recommended for the purpose of defeating these designs. (11)

With the spread of this partisan interpretation of King's conduct there came about also a reaction on the part of some who had at first supported him. This was true of a group of New England Federalists who, learning that the South believed the Missouri movement to be a stratagem of the Federalists, were unwilling to incur the hostility of the South by continuing their support of the policy of restriction. (12)

In both of these ways the belief in King's partisan aims favored the growth of the spirit of compromise. Aside from Virginia, the proposed compromise was generally acceptable to the South, but it was not acceptable to the majority of northern Congressmen, and was finally carried by the action of a few northern members who voted with the South. If it can be shown that these northern members were led to vote for the compromise by their belief that the plan of restriction was a partisan scheme of the Federalists led by King, we shall have an explanation of the passage of the compromise. And this is exactly what Benton would have us believe occurred, for when it was perceived, he writes that the agitation was a Federalist movement, "the Northern democracy became alarmed, and only wanted a turn or abatement in the popular feeling at home, to take the first opportunity to get rid of the question by admitting the State...... This was the decided feeling when I arrived at Washington, and many of the old Northern democracy took early opportunity to declare themselves to me to that effect, and showed that they were ready to vote the admission of the State in any form which would answer the purpose." (13) It may be found, therefore, when the subject is thoroughly investigated, that the passage of the famous compromise by which our commonwealth gained statehood was due to an erroneous belief in the personal ambition of an aged leader of a dead party.

HOMER C. HOCKETT.

Fayette, Mo., Nov. 4, 1907.

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11. Congressional Globe XXX Cong. 2d Sess. app. 63-67.

12. See letter of Gore to King in Life and Correspondence of Rufus King, VI, 259.

CIVIL WAR REMINISCENCES.*

I have been requested by some of the members of the State Historical Society of Missouri to "write up" some of my reminiscences of the Civil War period during the Sixties.

My people have been identified with the history of Missouri for several generations. My maternal ancestor, Ludwell Bacon, came from Albemarle County, Virginia, and settled in St. Louis County in 1804, where my mother was born in 1814. My paternal ancestor, Warner Lewis, who was a first cousin of Captain Merriwether Lewis, the explorer, came from Gouchland County, Virginia, and settled in St. Louis County in 1819.

My father, Robert Lewis, married my mother, Lucy B. Bacon, in St. Louis County, in 1829, where they lived until 1855, when they moved to Cass County, Missouri, with their children, slaves and other property. I preceded my parents the fall before, for the purpose of preparing houses, and arranging affairs before their arrival.

Politically, my father was an old line Whig, and believed in a protective tariff system, as a permanent policy of the National Government. I imbibed his political views, to which we both steadfastly adhered until the Civil War began.

I was born in 1834, finished my education at the State University of Missouri in 1854, married Sarah M. Griffith, a daughter of a Cass County pioneer, in 1855, and was engaged in farming, stock raising and merchandising when the war began. In those days Cass County was called a border county, and so of all other counties in Missouri similarily situated, because of their proximity to Kansas Territory.

This section of Missouri and the contiguous territory of Kansas was literally dedicated to war. There were more pitched battles fought here, more lives lost, greater desolation wrought, and more destruction of property, than in all the balance of the State beside.

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*Read before the State Historical Society, December 17, 1907.

This border land extending from the Missouri River on the north to the north boundary line of the State of Arkansas on the south, was the nursery of the war of the rebellion. Here the first conflict of arms began, and it was these counties that maintained the last military organization under the Stars and Bars, commanded by Major General Joe O. Shelby, who planted the banner of the "Lost Cause" on the western bank of the Rio Grande in old Mexico, on foreign soil, rather than surrender. Here the last general engagement of the war was fought west of the Mississippi, on the Price raid in the fall of 1864, and which was a continuous battle field from Independence to Neosho. Here whole counties were depopulated, and the citizens driven from their homes, under military orders, as shown by the following order issued by Brigadier General Thomas Ewing, Jr.:

H'dq'res District of the Border,
Kansas City, Mo., August 25, 1863.

"General" Orders.
No. 11.

All persons living in Jackson, Cass and Bates Counties, Missouri, and in the part of Vernon included in this district, except those living within one mile of the limits of Independence, Hickmann Mills, Pleasant Hill and Harrisonville, and except those in that part of Kaw Township, Jackson County, north of Brush Creek and west of the Big Blue, are hereby ordered to remove from their present places of residence within 15 days from the date hereof. Those who, within that time, establish their loyalty to the satisfaction of the commanding officer of the Military Station nearest their present places of residence, will receive from him a certificate stating the fact of their loyalty, and the names of the witnesses by whom it can be shown. All who receive such certificates will be permitted to remove to any military station in this district, or to any part of the State of Kansas, except the counties in the eastern border of the State. All others shall remove out of the district. Officers commanding companies and detachments serving in the counties named, will see that this paragraph is promptly obeyed."

II. "All grain and hay in the field, or under shelter in the district from which the inhabitants are required to remove, within reach of military stations, after the 9th day of September next, will be taken to such stations and turned over to the proper officers there, and report of the amount so turned over made to district headquarters, specifying the name of the loyal owners and the amount of such produce taken from them. All grain and hay found in such district after the 9th day of September next not convenient to such Stations will be destroyed."
X X X

By order of Brigadier Ewing.
H. Hannahs,
"Acting Assistant Adjutant General."

Since all the male inhabitants of 12 years of age and over, in this district, had taken shelter in either the northern or southern army, and since the women and children had been stripped of their work animals, and had no means of transportation, public or private, and were now made homeless under this order, their condition was rendered most pitiable, and their suffering was beyond measure.

Here fire and sword did their most complete work. Here the foundation of prison houses were torn asunder and the lives of female inmates, held as hostages of war, were crushed beneath the ruins. Here met the Kansas Jayhawker and Missouri Bushwhacker in mortal combat, both fighting under the black flag. From Lexington, Missouri, to Lawrence, Kansas, and from Independence to Neosho, Mo., was enacted more tragedy than in any territory of the same dimensions elsewhere in the States. Here war was hell. This goodly land, so productive in mineral and agricultural wealth, and so beautiful to look upon, was left a dreary waste and howling wilderness by the ravages of cruel, relentless war.

In these piping times of domestic peace and fraternal good will, when the nation's swords have been beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks, those who have since come upon life's busy stage are amazed at this wonderful hostility that was wrought up between the people of the States, north and south.

In order to understand what actuated them to such apparently reckless sacrifice of life and property, and to properly understand and judge of their conduct, we must transpose ourselves to the time and place in which they lived, and ask ourselves what would we have done under like conditions.

Now, speaking especially for the people of Southwest Missouri, and which in a measure applies to the people of the entire state, at the commencement of the war, I will say of them that they were a cultivated, thrifty and prosperous people. They were the descendants of those pioneer settlers who crossed the Mississippi River in the beginning of the last century, and with ax and rifle penetrated the forests and prairies, and drove out the buffalo and Indian, and built for themselves homes beside the health giving water brooks, surrounded by the benediction of Nature and of Nature's God.

They moulded and fashioned the organic law of the State and laid the foundation for the splendid civil, religious and educational citizenship and civilization that we now enjoy. They reasonably expected that the general Government would protect them in all their domestic institutions that they had established with its sanction, including slavery.

In 1854 the Congress of the United States passed an Act known as the "Squatter Sovereignty Act," whereby it was left to the people of the Territories to determine by election whether they would enter the Union with or without slavery. This was practically a repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820, when this State was admitted into the Union, and reopened the slavery question, which had been considered as settled for nearly half a century.

About this time Kansas was making ready to apply for admission into the Union, and the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery party both undertook to colonize that territory with voters friendly to their respective views. The Eastern Emigrant Aid Societies sent on large numbers of lawless men with Sharp's rifles, to terrorize the pro-slavery men and make Kansas a free state. A civil war ensued and many of the people of the border counties of Missouri, who were in sympathy with the pro-slavery party, rushed to their assistance. I remember that in 1857 about 3,000 Missourians assembled at Westport and elected John W. Reid, of Independence, a Mexican War veteran, Commander, and with rifles and cannon took up the line of march for Topeka. They were met by Governor Walker, and after a parley of some length, they returned to Missouri and were disbanded, with the loss of only one man.

In the meantime, several Constitutional Conventions were held in the Territory to determine the question of slavery. One at Topeka, Oct. 23, 1855, which excluded slavery. It was afterwards introduced in Congress, passed the House and was defeated in the Senate. On September 5th, 1857, another Constitutional Convention was held at Lecompton, and the convention adopted a constitution with slavery. This constitution was ratified by a large majority of the voters, but the anti-slavery party refused to participate in the election. On Dec. 6th, 1858, President Buchanan in his message to Congress recommended that Kansas be admitted as a State into the Union, under the latter constitution, stating therein that the election had been a peaceable one and conducted according to law; and that whilst the anti-slavery party had not participated in the election, they had no right to complain. In the same message he denounced the Topeka Convention as revolutionary.

Finally, on Oct. 19, 1859, still another Constitutional Convention was held at Wyandotte, which adopted a constitution excluding slavery; it was ratified by a vote of the people, but nothing further was done until Jan. 29th, 1861, when Kansas was admitted as a free state.

During these five or six years of contention in Congress and Kansas, great political excitement prevailed throughout the country. A reign of terror existed upon the western border of Missouri. Lawless bands of roving ruffians under command of Brown, Jennison and Montgomery, made frequent forays upon the inoffending people on the Missouri side; killing people, kidnapping slaves, robbing the citizens, burning houses, and carrying away their property; so that the Governor of Missouri was compelled to station a large force of militia on the border, under the command of Generals Bowen and Frost, in order to protect the people of our state. A few illustrations will serve to show the terrible condition of affairs, then and there existing:

Old man Doyle, who lived in the northwest corner of Vernon County, and his entire family of four sons were killed, and his personal property was carried away by the marauders.

Old man Jerry Jackson lived in the northwestern part of Bates County. In 1860 a band of these outlaws planned a raid upon him with intent to kill and murder, and to rob him of his property. The old man got word of their intended descent upon him. He moved out his family and stock and prepared to receive his unwelcome guests in western fashion. Sure enough, they came. The son did the loading and Uncle Jerry the shooting, until eleven of the attacking party were dead in their tracks. Seeing that they could not dislodge them in any other way, they set fire to a wagon load of hay and backed it against the house. In the confusion and darkness of the night the old man and boy both made their escape. Uncle Jerry afterwards served in the State Guard service, and finally moved to Texas. The house was destroyed, but the marauders paid dearly for their pains.

Again, George Walker lived on the Big Blue in Jackson County; he was a slave owner, a prosperous farmer and a reputable citizen. One of those lawless bands to which the famous Guerrella Chief Quantrell, then belonged, planned a raid upon him with felonious intent to kill, murder, steal and carry away his personal property. Quantrell deserted the band and came and reported the matter to Mr. Walker. The story, at first, appeared incredible. Quantrell proposed to remain at Walker's, which he was allowed to do. Sure enough, they came in the night time, with arms and wagons, prepared to carry out their purpose. In the meantime Quantrell gathered in some of the neighbors, and arming for the conflict, a battle ensued. Several of the invaders were killed, with the loss of their wagons and teams. Like instances of daily occurrence were continually going on in these border counties.

On account of the propensity of Kansans to appropriate their neighbor's property, on the Missouri side, they were called Jayhawkers—while the Missourians were called Bushwhackers, to indicate their manner of fighting. This designation they retained during the entire war.

Incensed by these lawless acts of aggression, by the antislavery party, and to protect the lives and property of the people of the State, the General Assembly of Missouri, at its session in 1861, passed a law dividing the State into eight Military Districts, with a Brigadier General over each, and a Major General over all, to be known as the Missouri State Guard. General James S. Raines was appointed Brigadier General over the 8th district, which included the counties above referred to. General Sterling Price was appointed Major General over the entire state.

At the first call for volunteers the men in these border counties flew to arms as one man. To show the unanimity of sentiment, it may be stated as a fact that Vernon County had more men enlisted in the State Service during the first six months, than there were voters at the last previous election. These people were not all rebels, nor disunionists, but believed that they were serving their country best by obeying the lawfully constituted authorities of the State, in repelling invasion and in protecting their homes and firesides. Soon after this a body of State troops rendezvoued at Camp Jackson were attacked by Federal troops under command of General Lyon and made prisoners of war. Another command was sent to the State Capitol to arrest the civil authorities of the State, and to capture or disperse the state troops. General Price retired to Southwestern Missouri with the State Guard troops, and the civil authorities went with him to avoid arrest. In view of the fact that in this the Federal Government was lending aid and comfort to the enemies of the State, as shown above, it was not possible that an honorable, self-respecting and courageous people, would tamely submit to its authority.

The Constitutional Convention that was then in session to determine the relation of the State to the Federal Government, voted down an ordinance of secession; so that the action of Federal authorities at this time toward the State seems to be without excuse or justification.

My service during the war in this border country gave me the opportunity of knowing as much of the campaign and the men engaged in it, perhaps, as any other person. I participated in all the important raids that were made in that part of the state during the war; viz.: The Lexington raid in 1861; the Lone Jack raid in 1862; the Shelby raid in 1863; and the Price raid in 1864. I was paymaster of Raines' division in the State Guard Service, and in this way made the acquaintance of nearly all the officers along the border in the beginning of the war. I served from the beginning of the war till the close, and then retired into Old Mexico with General Shelby, to whose command I then belonged.

In May, 1863, an expedition was organized on the western border of Jasper County, Missouri, under the command of Colonel Charles Harrison, who had been commissioned by Major General Holmes to proceed to New Mexico and Colorado for the purpose of recruiting into the Confederate service the men who had fled there from Missouri and other states, to avoid being drafted into the Federal Army; of whom there was then supposed to be a large number, anxious to make their way into the Southern Army. The plan was to organize them into companies, regiments and brigades, and as soon as this was done to drop down into Western Texas and then unite with the main army. The plan appeared feasible, though very hazardous; so much so, that many of those who had at first volunteered, finally refused to go.

Colonel Harrison appeared to be the man above all others to lead such an undertaking, since his entire life had been spent upon the western plains, and he had been the protege of the celebrated Indian fighter, General Kit Carson. He was tall, athletic, and almost as brown as an Indian, of whose blood he was said to have a mixture. He knew no fear and he staggered at no hardships. On the early morning of the 22nd day of May, 1863, the mules were packed with rations for the men. The party consisted of eighteen men, rank and file. The starting point was Center Creek where it crosses the line of the State in Jasper County. The route pursued was westward over the trackless prairie in the Indian Territory about 15 or 20 miles south of and parallel with the Kansas State line. There was no human habitation to be seen and no living person discoverable, and no incident worthy of note until the afternoon of the second day. After crossing a ravine fringed with brush and small timber, we halted on an eminence just beyond for rest and rations; our animals were tethered to grass or left to roam at will, whilst we were resting under the shade of some scattering oaks, inapprehensive of danger.

We had begun saddling up to renew our journey when we discovered a body of men coming on our trail at full gallop. By the time we were all mounted they were in hailing distance, and proved to be a body of about 150 Indian warriors. To avoid a conflict we moved off at a brisk walk, and they followed us. We had not gone far until some of them fired and killed one of our men, Douglas Huffman; we then charged them vigorously and drove them back for some distance. My horse was killed in this charge and I was severely wounded in the shoulder with an arrow. I mounted the mule from which Huffman was killed. The Indians kept gathering strength from others coming up. We had a running fight for eight or ten miles, frequently hurling back their advance on to the main body or with loss. Our horses were becoming exhausted, so we concluded to halt in the bed of a small stream that lay across our path, to give them rest. The Indians here got all around us at gunshot range, and kept up an incessant fire. We had only side arms and pistols and were out of range. Here Frank Roberts was shot through the head, and fell from his horse. I immediately dismounted the mule and mounted

Roberts' horse. This incident was the saving of my life. Colonel B. H. Woodson, of Springfield, Mo., preferred this mule to his horse, and mounted it. When our horess were rested we made a dash for liberty. On ascending the bank of the stream the saddle of Captain Park McLure, of St. Louis, slipped back and turned and he fell into the hands of the savages. Harrison was shot in the face and was captured. Rule Pickeral had his arm broken.

We broke the cordon as we dashed out, but from now on the race was even and our ranks much reduced. It was about two miles to the Verdigris River. When we were in about two hundred yards of the timber Woodson was caught. I tried to get the men to halt and give them a fire so as to let him get into the timber, but did not succeed. We could not cross the stream with our horses, owing to the steepness of the banks on both sides. I went down to get a drink and heard the Indians coming to the bank below us. John Rafferty stood on the bank above me, and I said to him: "Follow me." He obeyed. We made our way up the stream under cover of the bank for about half a mile, and noticing some fishing poles and some fresh tracks, and hearing the barking of dogs on the other side of the stream, we concluded it safest to secret ourselves in some dense bushes near the prairie until the darkness of the night came on.

We had just escaped a cruel death from savages. We were without food and about eighty miles from a place where relief could be obtained. We were without animals to ride, and our journey lay through a trackless prairie, beset by hostile Indians.

We dared not attempt to travel by day, for fear of being discovered by roving bands of Indians, and put to death. By accident, I lost my boots in the Verdigris River, so we "took it turn about" in wearing Rafferty's shoes, and used our clothing to protect our feet when not wearing the shoes.

We concealed ourselves by day and traveled at night, with only the sky for our covering and the stars for our guide.

Just before we reached the Neosho River we frightened a wild turkey from her nest, and secured nine eggs in an advanced stage of incubation. Rafferty's dainty appetite refused them, but I ate one with relish and undertook to save the rest for more pressing need.

We found the Neosho River not fordable, and Rafferty could not swim; so we constructed a rude raft with two uneven logs and bark. I put the eggs in the shoes, and the shoes between the logs, and undertook to spar Rafferty across the river. When we got midway the river Rafferty became frightened, tilted the raft, and we lost both the shoes and the eggs. On the morning after the second night the Missouri line appeared in sight, and we nerved ourselves for the final struggle. We reached the neighborhood from which he had started about 11 o'clock,—footsore, wounded, and half dead. The good women concealed us in the brush, and there fed us and nursed our sores until we were strengthened and healed. Rafferty was soon after killed, so that I, only, of the eighteen men who entered upon that fatal expedition, survived the war.

On the 28th day of May, 1863, Major Thomas R. Livingstone made a report to General Price from Diamond Grove, Mo., in which, among other things, he says: "Col. Warner Lewis is, also, here, who has just escaped from the Indians, and consequently without a force. He will make a report of the unfortunate disaster he escaped."

On the 30th day of May, 1863, Colonel William F. Cloud, of the 2nd Kansas Cavalry, made a report to Major General Schofield, in which he said, among other things: "A party of 16 men under command of a so-called Colonel Harrison were attacked and killed by Indians upon the Verdigris River west of Missouri, while on their way to the West," etc. A few days after the above tragedy an account was published in the Fort Scott paper in which it was stated that sixteen men were killed by Indians, and their heads cut off and piled up on the prairie.

The place where this unfortunate disaster occurred was in the Indian Territory, and only a short distance south of the present town of Coffeyville, on the southern border of the State of Kansas, and seventy-five or eighty miles west of the west line of Missouri.

WARNER LEWIS.

Montgomery City, Mo.
November 19, 1907.

NOTES.

The War Department is compiling a complete roster of the Confederate soldiers, and Capt. James W. Allen, Missouri Trust building, St. Louis, has charge of collecting the data for Missouri. He has already sent to Washington over 3,000 documents from which lists are made. Veterans, Sons of Veterans, and Daughters of the Confederacy are earnestly requested to send documents to Capt. Allen, and all such documents will be returned to the owners. He says: "For the sake of history; for the sake of the memory of our deceased comrades, who fell upon the field of battle, and now lie buried in graves unmarked—'unknown', and those who since that eventful period have answered the 'last roll call', it becomes our sacred duty to see that their names are correctly enrolled upon the pages of this official roster, which will be published by the government."

Joseph A. Mudd, Hyattsville, Maryland, is collecting material for a history of Colonel Porter's command of Missouri Confederate soldiers during the civil war. Porter operated in North Missouri and Mr. Mudd, who was in his regiment, wishes to get into communication with any one of the Black Foot Rangers or others who were under him, or know anything in regard to the history of his regiment; also of the battle of Moore's Mill, or other engagements in which it took part. Let all such persons address Mr. Mudd as above, or the Secretary of the State Historical Society at Columbia.

Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne of Yale University, who delivered the annual address before the State Historical Society of Missouri, February 7, 1906, on the Romance of Western History, died at New Haven, February 24, at the age of forty-seven. He was possessed of extraordinary learning, both in European and American history, and his death is an irreparable loss.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SLAVERY AND CIVIL WAR IN MISSOURI.

Compiled by F. A. Sampson and W. C. Breckenridge.

Titles followed by a * show that the publication is in the library of the State Historical Society. All others are wanted by the Society.

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NECROLOGY.

Miss Leah H. Brown. This authoress died in St. Louis, Jan. 16, 1908; while only twenty-six years old, she had published six volumes of prose and poetry. Of the latter the most noteworthy were "Golden Rod," "Mistletoe" and "The Ivy," and of the former the "North Pole." She was educated in the schools of St. Louis, and at an early age developed literary talent.

Philip Edward Chappell, for some years one of the trustees of this Society and also one of its corresponding members, was born August 18, 1837, on a farm near Bakersville, Callaway County, Missouri, and when a small boy his father moved to a farm in the same county where the present Cedar City now is. When fifteen years of age he went to Jefferson City, and for a year was clerk in a grocery store. Later he attended the Kemper School at Boonville, and the State University at Columbia. Returning home he opened a warehouse on his father's farm, and engaged in commercial matters again. He and a friend built the boat "John D. Perry," and for a time engaged in river freighting. Upon the death of his father he returned to the homestead, and marrying spent some years upon the farm. After the Civil War he became president of the Jefferson City Savings Bank, moving his family to that town in 1869. He was successively member of the city council, Mayor of the city, and State Treasurer, to which office he was elected by a majority of 54,000, when Mr. Crittenden was elected Governor. After his term of office was over he moved to Kansas City to become for seven years President of the Citizens National Bank, when his health caused him to resign. He then organized the Safe Deposit Company, and was its president till the time of his death. Mr. Chappell was also president of a cattle company in Texas, and interested in various other companies, and a director in trust and banking companies.

Mr. Chappell was a solid man of brains and substance that made him an important factor in the growth and prosperity of Kansas City; a business man of the highest integrity that was thoroughly ingrained into his character.

The ancestors of Mr. Chappell were an old English family, some of whom settled in Virginia and from which his father, John Chappell, came to Missouri.

Mr. Chappell was an active literary worker, and in 1895 published a "Genealogical history of the Chappell, Dickie and other kindred families of Virginia," of which a revised edition was issued in 1900. In 1905 he published his "History of the Missouri river."

Mr. Chappell had agreed to write for the Review a paper on the administration of Gov. T. T. Crittenden, but failing health prevented his doing so, and on the 23d of February, 1908, he died at his home in Kansas City.

Col. W. Q. Dallmeyer was born in Dissen, Kingdom of Hanover, Germany, in October, 1829, and died at Jefferson City, March 15. He came to America in 1845, and during the Civil War served in Capt. Cooper's Company of Home Guards, and later in what was known as Dallmeyer's Battalion, of which he was Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1864 he was elected a member of the Legislature, and re-elected for a second General Assembly. In 1868 he was elected State Treasurer, and afterwards remained a resident of Jefferson City, and was cashier of the Exchange Bank up to the time of his death.

General Odin Guitar was born in Richmond, Ky., August 31, 1825. He entered the Missouri University at its first session, and graduated in 1846, and without waiting to take part in the commencement exercises he enlisted in Doniphan's First Missouri Mounted Volunteers. After the Mexican War he read law and was admitted to the bar in 1848. In 1853 he was elected to the Legislature from Boone County and served two sessioss.

At the beginning of the Civil War Gov. Gamble commissioned him to raise a regiment and he organized the Ninth Missouri Cavalry, which became famous as the "Bloody Ninth." In August, 1862, he was commissioned Brigadier General for bravery on the field.

After the war he resumed the practice of law in Columbia, and he became prominent as a criminal lawyer, and active in politics as a member of the Republican party.

General Guitar was married December 26, 1865, to Miss Kate Leonard of Howard County, daughter of Abiel Leonard, for many years a Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri.

He died March 13, and his funeral was held from the Auditorium of the University, and his body was laid to rest with military honors.

Mrs. Clara C. Hoffman has for the last twenty-five years been a prominent factor in the temperance movement of the State and nation. She was born in De Kalb County, New York, January 19, 1831, and married in Illinois. Coming to Warrensburg, Missouri, she taught school there for some years, and in 1871 went to Kansas City, where for a time she continued the occupation of teaching. In 1882 she commenced work in the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and in 1883 was elected president of the organization in Missouri at its first annual convention, and has since devoted her life to the cause in Missouri and the nation. During the last twelve years in addition to being State President, she has been recording secretary of the national organization, and in 1895 was sent as a delegate to the world's convention of the union held in London, England, and she then spent some months lecturing in Great Britain, Germany, France and Switzerland. After her election as president of the union she became a fluent and ready extemporaneous public speaker. She died of pneumonia at the home of her son, Guy C. Hoffman, in Kansas City, February 13, 1908.

Hon. James M. Hopkins was born in Linden, Atchison County, Missouri, March 2, 1859, and lived all his life in that county, principally on the farm which was his home at the time of his death, February 3, 1908. He graduated from Tabor (Iowa) College in 1880, and from the State University of Missouri in 1883, and afterwards studied law, but remained a farmer. He was elected by the Democratic party as a member of the House of Representatives of the 39th General Assembly, 1879. His father, Nelson O. Hopkins, was a member of the same house in 1847 and again in 1882.

Gen. W. H. Kennon, Adjutant General under Gov. Stone, committed suicide at the State Hospital for insane at Farmington, March 27th. He was born near Rocheport, Boone County, 72 years ago, and had been a resident of Mexico, Missouri, for thirty years. He was adjutant of Parsons' Brigade under Gen. Price in the Confederate Army, and at the time of his death was secretary of the Board of Directors of the Confederate Home at Higginsville. He was a member of the Thirty-third General Assembly in 1885 from Audrain County. He was a brother-in-law of the late Gov. Charles H. Hardin.

Sylvester W. Kniffin, a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri, died at his residence in Kansas City, February 7, 1908, aged 65 years.

During the Civil War he was captain in an Illinois regiment, and at the time of his death was a member of the Loyal Legion and of the Grand Army of the Republic. He had been a resident of Kansas City for twelve years, going there from Sedalia, where he was married during his residence in that city. He had resided in Missouri most of the time since the Civil War.

Hon. Fremont Lamb was born in De Kalb County, Illinois, September 4, 1853; moved to Iowa in 1866; and came to Missouri in 1875, and afterwards lived upon a farm near Denver in Worth County. He was also for a number of years Deputy

Surveyor of the county, and in 1890 was elected as a Republican to the House of Representatives of the 36th General Assembly, and served in the regular and special sessions in 1891 and 1892. He died of pneumonia, February 7, 1908, a man universally respected and honored, an earnest church member and a worker in the Odd Fellow fraternity.

Edward C. Mayer, born in California, Missouri, fifty years ago, and almost a lifelong resident of Jefferson City, died in that city, February 10, 1908. About twenty years ago he founded the Evening Courier in connection with A. S. Ferguson, now of Oklahoma. They disposed of this paper, and in 1900 founded the daily and weekly Republican, which was afterwards consolidated with the Review of St. Louis.

Hon. James M. Ming was born in Campbell County, Va., May 16, 1824, and in 1837 settled in Franklin County, Missouri. He was elected to the 25th and 26th General Assemblies of Missouri in 1868 and 1872, and afterwards was elected three times as one of the judges of the county court. He was again a member of the Legislature in 1884 and 1885. He died at Washington, Mo., March 22, 1908.

Daniel Reedy, assistant editor of the Mirror for the last five years, and an old newspaper man, died in St. Louis, February 27, aged 38 years.

Hon. Thomas Shackelford, son of Thomas and Eliza C. Pulliam Shackelford, was born on a farm in Saline County, Missouri, February 6, 1822, and died at Glasgow, Missouri, March 10, 1908. He was educated at a private school in Fayette, Missouri, kept by Archibald Patterson, who afterwards founded Central College at that place. He studied law in the same town under Abiel Leonard, later a judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri. He was admitted to the bar in 1842, and continued in active practice from that to his last sickness. When he was admitted to the bar there had been published eight volumes of Reports of the Supreme Court of Missouri, while now there are 206 volumes of this court, and

125 of the Court of Appeals, and more than half of the judges of the Supreme Court were not yet born when he was admitted to the bar.

Prior to the war Judge Shackelford was a Whig, and during the war a Union man. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1861, and in that Convention he offered an amendment to the resolutions of the Committee on Resolutions, and which is known as the "Shackelford Amendment." At the annual meeting of the Society in February, 1906, Judge Shackelford read a paper giving the history of, and motives leading to this amendment, which paper was published in the first volume of the Review. He was also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1875, which formed the present Constitution of the State.

His legal practice was extensive, and for a long period of time he was engaged in many of the important cases arising in Central Missouri. He believed that a lawyer should exert his powers in having the right prevail, and he first satisfied himself as to which side was morally right, and then exerted his knowledge of law to show the court that it was legally right.

He became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in 1847, and was ever afterward an active member, many times being a delegate to the General Conference, and the author of legislation that became a part of the discipline of the church.

He was also prominent in the business world. At the organization of the Glasgow Savings Bank in 1871 he was made its president, and continued such till the time of his death. In all the business and industrial interests of his town and county he was a trusted advisor and participant, and in his 86th year closed a long and useful career.

BOOK NOTICES.

Biographical History. Atchison County, Missouri. Illustrated with farm scenes, views of residences and pictures of people, live stock, etc. Issued by the Atchison County Mail. **H. F. Stapel,** publisher. (c. 1905, by H. F. Stapel, Rock Port, Mo., 802 pp.)

The publisher of the Atchison County Mail has done a good service to the people of his county and the state in the preparation and publication of this finely illustrated work of more than eight hundred pages. Following a historical sketch of the county and its towns are short biographies of nearly four hundred residents of the county. The biographical sketches are necessarily compressed into a small space for each one, but in the total there are many thousands of facts and dates given, making an invaluable mine of information for all time to come. The Society is pleased to add it to the large collection it now has relating to the biographical history of the State.

A Tour in Europe. By **Denton J. Snider.** St. Louis. (c. 1907.)

The Father of History. An account of Herodotus. By **Denton J. Snider.** St. Louis. (c. 1907.)

European History, chiefly ancient in its processes. By **Denton J. Snider...** St. Louis. (c. 1908.)

The above three works have lately come to the Society, making thirty-nine volumes of Mr. Snider's publications in its library, a number perhaps greater than is generally realized even by those who know of the prominence of Mr. Snider as a writer and teacher. His later works have been classified under five heads,—psychology, history of philosophy, institutions, aesthetic and history, together forming the new system of thought upon which Dr. Snider has been engaged for some years. The first of the above named books is a pleasant variation from the works classified under the headings given above, and carries one with interest from his Missouri home through much of Europe.

A Glimpse of the Pacific Isles. By **W. W. Wheeler.** (n. p., n. d.)

The author, a wholesale merchant of St. Joseph, with a taste for travel, and a disposition to let his friends as far as possible enjoy with him the trip, has issued the above account of a four months trip to our island possessions, and other points in the far East. The work consists of 211 pages of heavy paper, one-half having full page photographs of scenery. The work was privately printed, and reflects much credit upon the author. The Society is pleased to add it to its large collection of privately printed works by Missouri authors.

Heliotrope a book of verse, by **John Rothensteiner,** (St. Louis, B. Herder, 1908.)

Father Rothensteiner, pastor of the Church of the Holy Ghost in St. Louis, and one of the Trustees of this Society, has added this fifth publication of peotry by him and which he calls "rhymes of faith and hope." Father Rothensteiner has a recognized position in literature, and has a library of English literature, of German literature and ecclesiastical literature not often excelled, the latter including very many of the folio tomes of early times.

Hamilton's Itinerarium being a narrative of a journey from Annapolis, Maryland, through Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire from May to September, 1744, by Doctor Alexander Hamilton. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, L. L. D., Professor of History in Harvard University. Printed only for private distribution by William K. Bixley, Saint Louis, Missouri—MCMVII.

Various Societies and clubs have published or reprinted rare books and pamphlets, for which they have become famous and their publications sought for by libraries generally. Mr. Bixby, of St. Louis, individually, is doing what is being done to some extent by organizations, and while his publications are not on the market, those to whom he has presented copies are fortunate. The above work is quite fully described in the title page, and consists of XXVII, 263, (1) pages, with a number of plates, the paper printing and binding of the highest excellence.

The copy presented to the Society by Mr. Bixby is 273, there having been a total of 487 printed.

At Seventy-five and other poems. A birthday souvenir. By **W. T. Moore.** (St. Louis, 1907.)

Preacher Problems or the twentieth century preacher at his work. By **William Thomas Moore, L. L. D.** Fleming H. Revell Company. (c. 1907. 2d edition.)

The above are two of the later works of Dr. Moore, formerly of Cincinnati and London, and now of Columbia, Missouri. The book of poetry includes some poems previously published, but now reissued in this work issued by the Christian Publishing Company, of St. Louis, in a manner that makes it a real souvenir edition as to paper, printing and binding. The book has four fine engravings of Dr. Moore, representing him at the ages of 32, 42, 62 and 69 years.

The Adventures of Little Pug Trix and other Stories. By **Edith Hall Orthwein,** Kansas City, 1899.

Petals of love for Thee by **Edith Hall Orthwein,** New York, Dodge Publishing Co., c. 1904.

These two works by Mrs. Charles T. Orthwein, of Kansas City, one of prose the other of poetry, are finely illustrated, the first with full page plates, the other with flower illustrations in color on each page, and are attractive books for looks as well as for contents.

PROGRAM

FIRST MEETING OF THE MISSOURI SOCIETY
of the
TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

To be held at the
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA,
Saturday, May 2, 1908.

President,	Vice President,	Secretary-Treasurer,
ISIDOR LOEB,	E. M. VIOLETTE,	ANNA C. GILDAY,
University of Missouri,	State Normal School,	Manual Training High School,
Columbia.	Kirksville.	Kansas City.

Morning Session, Nine O'clock.

Conference.

1. "The Relation of History and Government in Secondary Schools." Henry R. Tucker, Instructor in the William McKinley High School, St. Louis; William A. Lewis, Instructor in the Central High School, Kansas City; C. M. Weyand, Instructor in the High School, Moberly.
2. "The Teaching of Economics in High Schools." M. A. O'Rear, Superintendent of Schools, Boonville.
3. General Discussion.

Afternoon Session, Two O'clock.

1. "The Mystery of Mary Stuart." Roland G. Usher, Instructor in History, Washington University, St. Louis.
2. "The Clay-Tyler Controversy of 1841." Frank F. Stephens, Instructor in American History, University of Missouri.
3. "The Educational Value of History as a School Subject." Jesse Lewis, Professor of History, State Normal School, Maryville.

4. Business Meeting.
    (a) Adoption of Constitution.
    (b) Election of Officers.

Persons not members of the Society will be cordially welcomed to the sessions.

Papers are limited to twenty-five minutes and discussions to ten minutes for each speaker.

All sessions will be held in the Lecture Room of the Zoological Building.

Further information regarding the meeting of the Society can be had by addressing Professor Isidor Loeb, Columbia, Missouri.

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 2. JULY, 1908. NO. 4

REV. JESSE WALKER, THE APOSTLE OF THE WILDERNESS.

Jesse Walker was a remarkable character and one of the most famous men of his day. He was a pioneer, and was to the church what Daniel Boone was to the early settlers; always first, always ahead of every one else, preceding all others long enough to be the pilot to the new comer. He came from North Carolina to Davidson county, Tennessee, at the beginning of the nineteenth century and settled about three miles from the then village of Nashville. He was at the time a man of family, consisting of wife and three children, poor and to a considerable extent uneducated. His occupation was that of dressing deer skins. Well dressed deer leather was in great demand, being much used for gloves, moccasins, trousers and vests for men, and the finer grades for ladies' dresses and skirts. To dress the hides of animals successfully was no mean accomplishment and a very useful occupation. Of Mr. Walker's earlier life we are unable to learn anything. No mention of either time or place of his birth is made by any of his biographers, or even of the time or circumstances of his conversion. But it is most likely that it occurred during the great revival that swept the country during the earlier years of the century. He was admitted on trial into the Western Conference (1) in the autumn of 1802 and appointed to the Red River Circuit, which lay partly in Tennessee and partly in Kentucky. In 1803 he was appointed to Livingston Circuit, and the next two years his appointment was the Hartfort circuit, the last two in Kentucky. This closed his work in Kentucky. From this period, as long as he was able to travel and preach, he occupied the most dangerous and difficult fields on the frontier. In the fall of 1806 his field of labor was Illinois Circuit. This so-called circuit embraced the entire populated portion of Illinois Territory. (2) So far as we can learn no minister of the gospel had ever preached in this new territory before, except John Clark, a local Methodist preacher who had located some years before in Illinois, and who preached at different points in both Illinois and Missouri. From Mr. Walker's home in Kentucky to his new field of operations was probably five hundred miles through a wilderness, and in making the journey, with one other, he was compelled to camp out at night, roasting his own meat and corn which he carried with him, and sleeping on his saddle blanket and using his saddle bags for his pillow. He entered on his new work with his accustomed zeal and energy, and such was his success, that another preacher was sent to assist him. He held the first camp meeting ever held in the Territory, which resulted in a revival that extended through most of the settlement embraced in the circuit, which was constantly extending its borders as the people moved into the territory. This was the beginning of the great work accomplished in after years by the Methodist church.

In the fall of 1807 Mr. Walker was appointed to Missouri

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1. The Western Conference in 1802 and for several years afterwards embraced the entire valley of the Mississippi, from the Allegheny mountains to the remotest settlements of the South and West. It included in boundaries Missouri, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio Territories. Nashville and St. Louis were in the same district, with Wm. McKendree, afterward Bishop, as the Presiding Elder.

2. History of Methodism in Kentucky by Dr. A. H. Redford, Nashville, 1868. Vol. 1, p. 414.

Circuit. This circuit is supposed to have included all of the settlements on both sides of the Missouri river. Dr. Al. P. Green in his sketch of Mr. Walker says he preached this year in St. Louis, and although he succeeded in gathering a small congregation of well disposed persons, including three or four who had previously belonged to the Methodist church, it is evident that he failed to organize a permanent society in the city that year. During the year he held two camp meetings and added many new members to his church. This is all that we find recorded of his year's labors, but it may be set down as a fact that he visited every settlement large and small within his reach, and read the Scriptures and held prayers in every settler's cabin he was permitted to enter, and very few ever refused Walker.

The next year he was again sent to Illinois, but of that year's work we have no account. In the autumn of 1809, he was appointed to Cape Girardeau Circuit, Missouri. But as usual our ''prospector'' found his field of labor too small for him, large as it was, so he crossed the Big Swamp, then almost impassable, into the New Madrid district, and preached the first Protestant gospel sermon ever heard in that region, and organized the New Madrid Circuit, which he traveled during the remainder of the year in connection with the Cape Girardeau Circuit, thus doing two men's work, that is the work of two ordinary men. The next year Mr. Walker was reappointed to the same circuit, Cape Girardeau, but was immediately changed to a different field and actually traveled the Illinois, Maramac and Cold Water Circuits united into one, in conjunction with Rev. Colbert, as assistant. This Circuit as thus formed was more than equal in extent to a dozen modern presiding elder's districts. During this year Colbert and probably Walker preached in St. Louis.

In 1811 we find Mr. Walker again in Illinois, prosecuting with apostolic zeal his high and holy calling. In 1812 he was made presiding elder of Illinois district. This district embraced the circuits in Missouri as well as those in Illionis. As Presiding Elder he was emphatically at home. He loved the wide field and the great responsibility of the work, and he threw himself into it with a zeal and energy which few could have emulated. When the extent of his district is considered, including as it did Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas, we think all will agree that even he could not have desired a more extensive field. It is not our purpose, in a sketch like this to follow him in detail. He was always going and preaching everywhere. Not a new settlement, but what was hunted out and preached to, and if possible, a society organized and regular preaching provided for. Camp meetings were held during the summer at all of the appointments, in all the circuits. These meetings, which were such an important factor in the church's development of that day, were a necessity because of a want of churches, or even school houses, in which to preach. The people's cabins could not accommodate one-fourth of Jesse Walker's quarterly meeting congregations. His Sabbath congregations collected from far and near, people coming ten, twenty and even thirty miles, so famous was he as a preacher. In 1814, the Illinois district was divided, that part in Missouri and Arkansas was in the Missouri district, that in Illinois and Indiana, the Illinois district, and Jesse Walker continued as presiding elder of the Illinois district, which position he held for two years. But as it is our purpose to consider him mainly in connection with his work in Missouri, we will add nothing further concerning his labors in Illinois and Indiana, other than to say that it was of the same character ever displayed by him, full of hardships, deprivations and dangers.

In 1816 Mr. Walker was made presiding elder of Missouri district, including the Missouri territory and settled parts of Arkansas. He remained on this district for three years, but to attempt a record of his labors would be only to repeat a part of his past record. Suffice it to say that the membership of the church increased during his administration from 941 members to 1408.

In 1819 his appointment was missionary, investing him with authority to extend his labors to the farthest borders of civilization and to plant the standard of the cross upon its very verge, and this work he did most faithfully. In 1820 he was reappointed missionary. This brings us to the most important work of our hero's life, and also to the most important era in the history of the church in Missouri: the establishment of Methodism in St. Louis. (3) Not but that some efforts had been made to raise up a church in that growing town, but they had been of desultory character, and really had accomplished little or nothing. Although Brother Walker had never been engaged in city work, the plan he adopted for the accomplishment of his purpose proved to be the correct one. In view of the importance of this work we think it best to reproduce the story entire as told by Bishop T. A. Morris, as he received it from Brother Walker, and doubtless it is the most correct of any in existence.

The Bishop's account was as follows:

"In 1820 our veteran pioneer formed the purpose, at once bold and benevolent, of planting the standard of Methodism in St. Louis, Missouri, where, previously, Methodist preachers had found no rest for the soles of their feet; the early inhabitants, from Spain and France, being utterly opposed to our Protestant principles, and especially to Methodism. He commenced laying the train at conference, appointed a time to open the campaign and begin the siege, and engaged two young preachers, of undoubted zeal and courage, such as he believed would stand by him "to the bitter end," to meet at a given time and place, and to aid him in the difficult enterprise. Punctual to their engagement, they all met, and proceeded to the city together. When they reached St. Louis, the territorial legislature was there in session; and every public place appeared to be full. The missionaries preferred private lodgings, but could obtain none. When they announced their profession, and the object of their visit, no one appeared to show the slightest sympathy with them. Some laughed at, and

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3. The charter members of the society organized by Walker were A. Burns and wife, John Finney, John Armstrong and Joseph Piggott, Jan., 1821.

others cursed them to their face. Thus embarrassed at every point, they rode into the public square, and held a consultation on their horses. The prospect was gloomy; no open door could be found; every avenue seemed to be closed against them. The young preachers expressed strong doubts as to their being in the order of Providence. Their leader tried to rally and encourage them, but in vain. They thought the Lord had no work there for them to do, or there would be some way to get to it. Instead of a kind reception, such as they had been accustomed to elsewhere, they were not only denied all courtesy, but turned off, at every point, with insult. As might be expected, under these circumstances, they thought it best to return whence they came immediately; and though their elder brother entreated them not to leave him, they deliberately brushed the dust off their feet, for a testimony against the wicked city, as the Savior had directed his disciples to do in similiar cases, and, taking leave of Father Walker, rode off, and left him sitting on his horse. These were excellent young ministers, and, in view of the treatment they had met with, no blame was attached to them for leaving. Perhaps that hour brought with it more of the feeling of despondency to the veteran pioneer than he ever experienced in any other hour of his eventful life; and, stung with disappointment, he said, in his haste, "I will go to the state of Mississippi, and hunt up the lost sheep of the house of Israel," reined his horse in that direction, and with a sorrowful heart rode off alone.

Having proceeded about eighteen miles, constantly ruminating, with anguish of spirit, upon his unexpected failure, and lifting his heart to God in prayer for help and direction, he came to a halt, and entered into a soliloquy on this wise, "Was I ever defeated before in this blessed work? Never. Did any one ever trust in the Lord Jesus Christ and get confounded? No; and, by the grace of God I will go back and take St. Louis." Then reversing his course, without seeking rest or refreshment for man or beast, he immediately, and with all convenient haste, retraced his steps to the city, and with some difficulty, obtained lodging in an indifferent tavern, where he paid the highest rate for everything. Next morning he commenced a survey of the city and its inhabitants; it being his first object to ascertain whether any Methodists from distant parts, had been attracted there by a prospect of business, who might be of service to him. Finally he heard of one man, who, by rumor, was said to be a Methodist, and went directly to his shop, inquired for him by name, there being several persons present, and he was pointed out, when the following conversation was held: "Sir, my name is Walker; I am a Methodist preacher; and being told that you were a Methodist, I have taken the liberty to call on you." The man blushed, and with evident confusion, called the preacher one side and said: "I was a Methodist once before I came here; but finding no brethren in St. Louis, I never reported myself, and do not now consider myself a member; nor do I wish such a report to get out, lest it injure me in my business." The missionary finding him ashamed of his name, concluded he was worthless, and left him.

While passing about the city he met with some members of the Territorial Legislature, who knew him, and said: "Why, Father Walker, what has brought you here?" His answer was: "I have come to take St. Louis." They thought it a hopeless undertaking, and to convince him remarked, that the inhabitants were mostly Catholics and infidels, very dissipated and wicked, and there was no probability that a Methodist preacher could obtain any access to them, and seriously advised him to abandon the enterprise, and return to his family, then residing in Illinois. But to all such suggestions and dissuasions, Jesse returned one answer: "I have come in the name of Christ, to take St. Louis, and by the grace of God, I will do it."

His first public experience was in a temporary place of worship occupied by a few Baptists. There were, however, but few present. Nothing special occurred, and he obtained leave to preach again. During the second effort there were strong indications of religious excitement; and the Baptists, fearing their craft was in danger, closed their doors against him. He next found a large but unfinished dwelling house, inquired for the proprietor, and succeeded in renting it, as it was, for ten dollars a month. Passing by the public square, he saw some old benches stacked away by the end of the court house, it having been recently fitted with new ones. These he obtained from the commissioner, had them put on a dray and removed to his hired house; borrowed tools, and repaired, with his own hands, such as were broken, and fitted up his largest room for a place of worship. After completing his arrangements, he commenced preaching regularly twice on the Sabbath, and occasionally in the evenings between the Sabbaths. At the same time he gave notice that if there were any poor parents who wished their children taught to spell and read, he would teach them five days in a week, without fee or reward; and if there were any who wished their servants to learn, he would teach them, on the same terms, in the evenings.

In order to be always on the spot, and to curtail his heavy expenses, which he had no certain means of meeting, he took up his abode and kept bachelor's hall in his own hired house. The chapel-room was soon filled with hearers, and the school with children. Some of the better class of citizens insisted on sending their children to encourage the school, and paying for the privilege; and to accommodate them, and render the school more useful, he hired a young man. more competent than himself, to assist in teaching. In the mean time he went to visit his family, and returned with a horse load of provisions and bedding, determined to remain there and push the work till something was accomplished. Very soon a work of grace commenced, first among the colored people, then among the poorer class of whites, and gradually ascended in its course till it reached the more intelligent and influential, and the prospect became truly encouraging.

About this time an event transpired, which seemed, at first, to be against the success of his mission, but which eventuated in its favor. The work of death caused the hired house to change hands; and he was notified to vacate it in a short time. Immediately, he conceived a plan for building a small frame chapel; and without knowing where the funds were to come from, but trusting in Providence, put the work under contract. Jesse was to furnish the materials, and the carpenter to have a given sum for the work. A citizen owning land across the Mississippi gave him leave to take the lumber from his forest as a donation, and when he started with his choppers and hewers, followed them to the boat, and had them ferried over, from time to time, at his expense. Soon the chapel was raised and covered; the ladies paid the expense of building a pulpit; and the vestrymen of a small Episcopal church, then without a minister, made him a present of their old Bible and cushion. They also gave him their slips, which he accepted, on condition of their being free; and having unscrewed the shutters, and laid them by, he lost no time in transferring the open slips to his new chapel. New friends came to his relief in meeting his contracts; the chapel was finished, and opened for public worship, and was well filled; the revival received fresh impulse; and as the result of the first year's experiment, he reported to conference a snug little chapel erected and paid for, a flourishing school, and seventy church members in St. Louis. Of course next year he was regularly appointed to that mission station, but without any missionary appropriation, and considered it an honorable appointment. Thus "Father Walker," as every one about the city called him, succeeded in taking St. Louis, which, as he expressed it, had been "the very fountain-head of devilism." (4)

To this quotation from Bishop Morris, we add the following from Rev. John Scripps, a prominent member of the Missouri conference, and an intimate friend of Walker. The occasion to which we refer was the meeting of the Missouri conference in St. Louis, in 1822, at the close of Mr. Walker's

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4. Miscellany by Bishop T. A. Morris, D. D. Cincinnati. Pp. 185-189.

second year, and before his church was fully completed, but in which the sessions of the conference were held.

"When I attended conference in St. Louis, in 1822, where he had provided, among the citizens, superior accommodations for all the preachers, he sedulously avoided any reference to his own lodgings; and I had to use some address to discover them, and contrary to his wishes, made rather a forcible entry into them. They were in a two room log cabin. Indeed, inasmuch as it was a two story one, old, in the last stages of dilapidation, and tottering to its fall (the family of a poor day-laborer occupied the lower room), a crazy flight of steps, not stairs, brought me into a dreary, unfinished room overhead, where a board, on barrels, composed an apology for a table, covered with his books, papers and writing apparatus, scarcely a seat to sit on, and a very hard, coarse mattress, on the floor, for his repose. This I know; for I lay that night, upon it. Thus was he sacrificing ease, comfort and comparative affluence, which he might have enjoyed on his farm, at home, for the all-absorbing cause that filled his mind and occupied his thoughts—the prosperity of our holy religion in St. Louis; to the furtherance of which all his little means, beyond what his own immediate necessities required, were cheerfully surrendered; by which the first Methodist Church, in the city of St. Louis was completed and occupied at this, the first session of our conference here. It was a neat frame, with side galleries, and sufficiently commodious for a St. Louis congregation of those days.

"Brother Walker having built a mill on his farm, in Illinois, his son-in-law, D. Everett (nephew to the venerated Joseph Everett, one of the fathers of our Methodism), used to take a wagon load of flour or Indian meal, every week, to Brother Walker, by the sale of which he supported himself in this mission." (5)

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5. Rev. John Scripps as quoted in Methodism in Missouri by Rev. D. R. McAnally, D. D., St. Louis, 1881. Vol. 1, pp. 272-273.

Succeeding his labors in St. Louis he was appointed conference missionary. Of his labors for this year we have no record, but we are assured that his life was just as strenuous, and his labors as fruitful in results as in other years. In 1823, his appointment reads, "Jesse Walker, Missionary to the Missouri Conference, whose attention is especially directed to the Indians within the bounds of said conference." In regard to his work among the Indians we again quote Bishop Morris. He received the story from Brother Walker very soon after the events recorded occurred.

"Brother Walker was continued conference Missionary, and in 1823 began to turn his special attention to the Indian Tribes up the Mississippi. When he reached their villages, he learned that most of them had gone to a great distance to make their fall's hunt. Not a whit discouraged by this disappointment, he procured a bag of corn, and an interpreter, and set off in pursuit of them, crossing the Mississippi in a canoe, and swimming his horse by the side of it. After a difficult and wearisome journey, they reached one cluster of camps, on the bank of a small stream, about dusk of evening. When they first rode up, an Indian—who knew the interpreter—said, "Who is with you, a quaker?" "No." "A minister?" "Yes." Word was conveyed to the chief, a tall, dignified man, who came out and gave them a welcome reception, secured their horses, with ropes, to the trees, with his own hands, and then showed them into his own camp, which was a temporary hut, with flat logs laid round inside for seats, and a fire in the center, and in his own Indian style, introduced them to his wife, who received them kindly, and entertained them cheerfully. The chief, learning that his white guest wished to hold a talk with him and his people, sent notice to the neighboring camps of a council to be held in his lodge that evening. In the mean time, the chief's wife prepared a repast for the occasion, consisting of broth, enriched with venison and o'possum. served up in wooden bowls. After the council convened, and each member was seated, with his dog lying under his knees, the chief's wife handed the first bowl of meat and broth to her husband, the second to the missionary, and then went round according to seniority till all were served. Each man having picked his bone, gave it to his own dog to crack, which knew the rule of the council better than to leave his place behind his master's feet before the feast was ended. Next the tomahawk pipe of peace was passed around, each taking his whif in turn. This ceremony over, the chief struck the blade of the instrument into the ground, and inquired what was the object of the meeting. Jesse informed him that he had come a long journey to bring them the book which the Great Spirit had sent to all his children, both white and red, and to ascertain whether they would allow him to establish a school among them, and teach their children to read it. So saying, he handed a Bible to the chief, who examined it deliberately and carefully, as a great curiosity, and then passed it round till every member of the council, in his proper place, had done the same. After examining the Bible, the chief rose and replied as follows: "The white children's father had given them a book, and they would do well to do what it told them; but they doubted whether it was intended for his red children. However, as some of their older men were absent, they could not then decide the matter; but in a few days, they would hold a larger council, and then give him an answer.' The result of the second council was leave to establish a mission school. Having settled this matter to his mind, Jesse returned to make preparation for the mission, and to attend the General Conference next spring, at Baltimore, leaving a pledge that he would visit them next summer, and commence operations in their villages. After he had proceeded nearly a day's journey from the camps, a messenger came galloping after him, and said, 'The chiefs have sent me to tell you to be sure to come back next summer,' which he again promised to do. While on his way to Baltimore, he called on the Secretary of War, at Washington City, and obtained his sanction to go on with the mission." (6)

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6. Ibid, pp. 190-192.

At the General Conference which met in May 1824, Illinois and Indiana were separated from Missouri, and formed into a new conference called Illinois. As Jesse Walker fell into this new conference he received no other appointments in Missouri, but spent the remainder of his life in his new conference. His appointment for the year beginning in the fall of 1824, was missionary to the settlements between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, and to the Indians in the vicinity of Fort Clark. A big work certainly for a man as far advanced in years as Father Walker, as every one now called him.

In 1825 he was sent as missionary to the Pottawatomie Indians, where he remained three years, but we have no account of his labors at this mission. In 1828 he was sent to the Peoria and in 1829 to the Fox River Mission. Fortunately we have a letter of his to Bishop Roberts which we insert as it gives us not only a view of the work he was engaged in but also a clear insight to the character of the man himself. And it should not be forgotten that at the time this letter was written Father Walker was growing old, prematurely, probably, but growing old, and was nearing the end of his labors as we will soon see. This letter, the only one of his in existence so far as we know, shows what manner of men those were who planted Methodism in the great West. The letter here follows:

"After my best respects to you, I will give an account of my labors since conference. I reached Chicago sufficiently soon to meet the Indians at the time of the payment; but the agent was on his death bed, and he died a few days after; so that no council could be held, or anything, in short, be done with them. At length, after five days, starving and drinking, they gave them their money, and all broke up in confusion. One of the chiefs said, that all must be laid over till the next year. I then went to see the Kickapoos and those of the Pottawatomies that had commenced to serve the Lord. I had to follow them down the Grand prairie. Some I found on the Ambroise, some on the Little Wabash, and some on the Fox. This has taken me four weeks, in which I have been but a few nights in a house. The rains have been frequent; but the Lord has blessed me with health. I have returned to this place well, for which I am thankful. The Indians express a strong desire to settle themselves, and change their mode of living. There are three hundred of them who attend the worship of God morning and evening, and keep holy the Sabbath day. I can only say, that there can be no doubt but if they could get some place, they would gladly settle themselves, and learn to read the word of God, and till the earth. Such a place is promised them by the Pottawatomies. It is on the Kankakee, and they are going to settle there in the spring.

"A blessed field is open at this time for sending the Gospel to the Northwest. God is raising up preachers of the right kind for this glorious work. Nearly two hundred Pottawatomies have already joined them. These people have laid aside ardent spirits altogether; also stealing, lying, cheating, quarreling, fighting and all manner of sin. They keep the Sabbath day with all possible strictness, and speak feelingly of the Divine influence of the Holy Spirit, and they exhort each other to give their hearts to the Savior. I still have some hope that Chicago will some day receive the Gospel. I pray for the blessed time to roll on.

"Please to send me some instructions. My soul longs to see something done for these poor Indians. I heard you were sick in St. Louis, from which I hope you have recovered. I heard Brother Armstrong was sick, also; but I have learned he has gone home. I close, subscribing myself yours in the bonds of the Gospel of our blessed Master, Jesus Christ." (7)

"In 1830 he was appointed to Chicago Mission, in 1831 presiding elder two years, 1833, Chicago Mission again. This was his last appointment. At conference of 1834 he took a superannuated relation, and October 11, 1835, closed

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7. Life of Bishop Roberts by Rev. Chas. Elliott, D. D. Cin., 1844, p. 319.

his earthly career, in death. Thus ends one of the most eventful lives of our age." (8)

Bishop Morris truly says: "But few men even of his day, performed more hard labor, or endured more privations, than Jesse Walker, and certainly no one performed his part with more cheerfulness or perseverence."(9) And he might have added for less compensation. For it is probable that for the entire thirty-two years of active and arduous service, he did not receive as much as fifty dollars a year salary. As late as 1830 the average pay of the preachers in Missouri was less than forty dollars a year. He was probably about sixty years old when he died. With his wonderful constitution there is no good reason why he should not have lived twenty-five or thirty years longer, to bless the world, if only he had taken care of his health. Probably we should say, if only he could have taken care of his health. As it was he gave his all, mind, life, energy, all for the souls and good of men. He truly gave his life for others that they might live. At the session of his conference which met in 1836, a memorial was adopted which closed as follows: "The last moments of our beloved and deceased brother were such as might be expected from his long and laborious life in the way of doing good. To a ministerial brother, who visited him shortly before his demise, he said that God had been with him from the time of his conversion, and was still with

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8. Rev. Chas. J. Little, D. D., in Northwestern Christian Advocate, March 4, 1908.

"In 1830 Jesse Walker was appointed to Chicago Mission then including all the settlements north of Peoria. In Jan., 1832, one bitter cold Sunday he held his first communion service in the little town by the lake shore. Cholera and the Indians, however, soon dispersed this first Methodist society, which was re-organized with twenty-five members in 1834. This was Walker's last important work." Rev. Charles J. Little, D. D., in the Northwestern Christian Advocate, Chicago, March 4, 1908.

It wil thus be seen that Jesse Walker organized the first Methodist church in Chicago as he had in St. Louis ten years before. Such honor falls to the lot of very few men. It is hard to over-estimate the greatness of such a man. As the representative of all the qualifications of the eminent Methodist itinerant preachers, he stands easily first.

9. Miscellany by Morris, p. 192.

him. His last moments were tranquil and he died in full and confident hope of a blessed immortality." (10)

Missouri has had, and has now, illustrious and great men, but none has done more, probably, for the uplifting and for the welfare of the great Commonwealth of Missouri, than Jesse Walker. During his labors on our soil he occupied a large place in the affections and confidence of the people, and now, after three-quarters of a century, he is dearly beloved, and is held in as high regard by this generation as he was in his day, by our fathers.

The following pen picture by Bishop Morris makes prominent the personnel of the man: "Jesse Walker was a man about five feet six or seven inches high, of rather slender form with a sallow complexion, light hair, blue eyes, prominent cheek-bones and pleasant countenance, dressed in drab-colored clothes, made in plain style peculiar to the early Methodist preachers, his neck secured with a white cravat, and his head covered with a light-colored beaver nearly as large as a ladies' parasol—that was Jesse Walker."(11)

How did the early preachers live and support their families on their meager salaries?

If I were asked how Jesse Walker managed to support and rear a family when his entire income from the church would barely support a single person, I would confess frankly that I could not tell. But that in my opinion if the facts were known, that they would be found to be about as follows: That during his four years labors in Tennessee and Kentucky, that he probably cultivated some rented land each year, thus largely supplying the table with the necessary food. Then there was his wife. In her day the wife would spin, weave and make the family garments and often do work such as weaving for her neighbors for wages, and doubtless Madam Walker belonged to this working class and counted it no hardship. When he was sent to Illinois he doubtless left his family in Kentucky among friends till he could pro-

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10. General Minutes for 1836.
11. Miscellany by Morris, p. 180.

vide a home for them in the new field. That he located a piece of Government land at no great distance from St. Louis and that during the winter he erected a cabin and made such improvements as he could and those the most needful against their coming.

At this point it is well to state that during the winter he did very little preaching because there were no houses in which the people could meet except the people's cabins, and they were generally so small, only a single room, that there was no room to accommodate a congregation. He could only visit the settlers, exhort them to live Godly lives and hold religious services for the family. So it will be seen that he would have ample spare time for the making of need "improvements" as the settlers used to say. Here he probably lived for several years, when he sold his homestead and moved to Cook county, where he "improved" another farm on which he was living at the time of his death. In this way, and only in this way, were our fathers in the ministry able to care for their families.

We have before us "the allowance" fixed by the board of stewards for a preacher and his wife in 1833. The circuit represented was one of the best in the Illinois conference. We will just state that the Discipline fixed the quarterage (cash salary) at $80 for the preacher and $80 for his wife, and authorized the board of stewards to fix the allowance for table expenses, etc., as shown below:

40 lbs. sugar at 10c	$ 4.00
20 lbs. coffee at 20c	4.00
400 lbs. beef and pork	10.00
10 lbs. cornmeal, 50c	5.00
400 lbs. flour	10.00
House rent, $2.00 per month	24.00
Fuel, six cords wood	6.00
Vegetables	3.00

Salt, pepper and spice	2.00
One-half lb. tea	1.50
	73.00
Add quarterage	160.00
	$233.00(12)

How could a preacher and his wife live and entertain their frequent guests on such an amount, even if paid them, a thing which was rarely done? We answer they could not do it. Either the preacher was forced to locate, which was the general way of seeking relief, or the preacher must supplement his meager receipts by "raising a crop" or in some other way.

JOEL SPENCER.

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12. Centennial Anniversary of the founding of the first M. E. church in Illinois at Shilo, Aug. 14, 1907. Address by M. H. Chamberlain, LL. D. n. p., n. d. p. 21.

Authors and documents consulted:

Miscellany by Bishop T. A. Morris, D. D. Cin, Ohio.

Life of Bishop Roberts by Rev. Charles Elliott, D. D. Cin. 1844.

Methodism in Missouri by Dr. D. R. McAnally.

Methodism in Kentucky by Dr. A. H. Redford, Nashville, 1868.

Centennial address Rev. Dr. M. H. Chamberlain. n. p., n. d.

General Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal church.

Rev. Chas. J. Little in Northwestern Christian Advocate, March 4, 1908.

SERGEANT JOHN ORDWAY.

[The following copies of letters received from Mrs. Eva Emery Dye who obtained them in 1902 while collecting material for her work on the Lewis and Clark expedition, and who gave them to this Society, are of interest both because they relate to that expedition which started from Missouri and because Ordway became a resident of Missouri and died here.—Editor.]

Lawrence, Mar. 13th, '02.

My Dear Mrs. Dye,

Yours of Feb. 22nd was received, and as I could not answer all of your questions wrote to Mrs. Spaulding of Dorchester, Mass., a cousin, and who lived with my grandfather, Stephen Ordway, many years in her youth. Stephen Ordway of Hebron, N. H., was Serjeant John Ordway's brother. There were ten brothers and sisters in the family. Mrs Spaulding is now advanced in years and failing in memory so I learned very little from her. I enclose you a copy of a letter in our possession. The Wm referred to is J. O.'s brother and the Jeremiah Putnam married his sister. John Ordway's mother was a Morse—Her father—a sturdy high strung old Tory was always called "Lord Morse"—whether for his manners & high disposition, or by right of title we do not know. Certain it is that he arrived in this country a man of means, lived in a style beyond his fellow citizens, was energetic and adventurous, brought large means in English securities and after the close of the Revolution paid $300, or about sixty pounds of those same securities for a calf valued at $3.00 in United States currency. He lived at or in the vicinity of Dumbarton, N. H., and was the first man in the State to own blooded stock. It is known that Morse's ebullitions subsided as suddenly as raised and that he was a generous, affectionate man. My grandfather and father were noticeably English in build, complexion, tenacity of purpose, etc., etc.

It is known that some of J. O.'s brothers and sisters emigrated to Ohio and some, sisters I believe, settled in Kentucky. John O. married the Gracey mentioned in the enclosed letter. After his return from the expedition he traveled horseback and by boat on the Ohio to N. H. but the Betsey you inquire about he never paid much attention other than what neighborly courtesy demanded. Gracey lived near his family and after their marriage he returned with her to Missouri. It is known that he died there, also his wife and left no surviving children. My father, DR. Aaron Ordway of this City, just previous to the war, went to New Madrid, Mo. to investigate some matters, and found Serjeant J. O. once owned the best and largest part of the land upon which that city is situated. Early in the forties two men travelled horseback from Missouri to Hebron, N. H. to my grandfather. They told him they had purchased some land and to acquire a river front wanted him to release claim to a small strip of worthless swampy land which his brother J. O. Owned. After some bargaining they paid forty dollars to my grandfather, representing it as a very dear price, &c., &c. It never occurred to him that two men would hardly be likely to travel twelve hundred miles horseback for so little a sum, and years after he chuckled to his son, my father, over the fine bargain he had made which was the first any of grandpa's children knew anything of the transaction, they being all married and settled at a distance. So far as we know John O. never served in the Mexican or war of 1812. We know he had nephews and nieces living in Kentucky the children, we think, of his sisters or brothers. We have letters written from there in 1809, 1824, 1827. In the letter of 1809 J. O. is mentioned as living at New Madrid. From all we can learn he must have been a man of good business ability—shrewd and long headed. My father learned while in New Madrid that Serjeant O. bought claims of some of the soldiers who were his companions on the expedition. If you will communicate with Wm. Ordway Partridge, Sculptor, Boston, Mass. you may be able to glean something further. You had better do so at once. I would attend to it, but am expecting to return to my home in San Francisco very soon.

Hoping this letter will be of some use I am very sincerely yours, MARTHA ORDWAY KIBBLER.

I folded the enclosed letter just as the old letter was folded. In those days there were no envelopes and the 25c in the upper right hand corner is the postage price for a letter for that distance. M. A. O. K.

My address is 437 Larkin St.
San Francisco, Calif.

I have answerd your letter for my sister Miss Mary E. Ordway.

Camp River Dubois, April the 8th 1804.

Honored Parents,

I now embrace this opportunity of writing to you once more to let you know where I am and where I am going. I am well thank God and in high Spirits. I am now on an expedition to the westward, with Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clark, who are appointed by the President of the United States to go on an expedition through the interior parts of North America. We are to ascend the Missouri River with a boat as far as it is navigable and then to go by land to the western ocean, if nothing prevents. This party consists of 25 picked men of the armey and country likewise and I am so happy to be one of them picked men from the armey and I and all the party are if we live to return to receive our discharge when ever we return again to the United States if we choose it. This place is on the Mississippi River and we are to start in ten days up the Missouri River. This has been our winter quarters. we expect to be gone eighteen months or two years, we are to receive a great reward for this expedition when we return. I am to receive 15 dollars a month and at least 400 ackers of first rate land and if we make great discoveries as we expect the United States has promised to make us great rewards, more than we are promised. for fear of accidents I wish to inform you that (then follows personal matters).

I have received no letter since Pretseys yet but will write next winter if I have a chance.

Yours &c
JOHN ORDWAY SEGT.

The above letter was copies from the original by
MARY E. ORDWAY,
grand niece of
Sergeant John Ordway.

Upper Louisiana, District of Cape Girardeau 16 miles above mouth of Ohio in the township of Tywappity, the 15th of Nov. 1807—

Dear Brother,

I now begin to write in earnest as I have wrote 4 letters and received no answer—I and Gracey are well at present but Gracey has been sick about 2 months with the fever and ague, but it has left her well & hearty & we hope these lines will find you all well. I have enjoyed a reasonable shear of health Since I left you. We had a good passage to this country. I have exchanged my 4 land warrants for improved land breeding mares and cows and calves at 600 & 40 dollars each. I have settled myself on the bank of the Mississippi, where I have two plantations under good cultivation peach and apple orchards, good buildings &c &c. which I had excellent good luck in trading for as it is exelent intervail land and a good situation. I have rented one of Sd farms to an honest man by the name of William Griffin who has 6 negro slaves, & I have firm obligations on sd Griffin for the yearly rents for five years, and I let him a part of my stock and am to give him one third of the increase during Sd five years. he is about to keep public house and ferry as it is a good stand. I have 2 hundred acres of first rate intervail land lying 2 miles below me towards the mouth of the Ohio. as Wm Griffin has moved in the house with me I expect to live with him until Spring and then move on the adjoining farm if I do not rent that also & if so I have 50 acres more which I purchased adjoining also which has on it a comfortable house and a handsome situation which I had arranged matters to accommodate Brother William on one or other of those places, if any of my relation or acquaintances should see proper to come to this place I would endeavor to accommodate them with any of my places except that which I have rented and that I mean and am determined to live on after the five years, all the remainder of my days, as there is no better land in the world there is not one foot of waist land on all i own & all intervail and produces exactly as the Geography describes the country of New Madrid as it is only 40 miles above that town & is about half way between the mouth of the Missourie & New Madrid, rather nearest to New Madrid; 15 miles above is county Town Cape Girardeau & a thriving place & so soon as the number of inhabitants will admit another county will between the district of Cape Girardeau and the district of New Madrid as they join and when that takes place it will bring a town on my land as it is the best situation and a better place, as there is large settlements back of the intervails in the praries or beautiful plains which has in them beautiful groves of trees but is not so healthy as it is on the bank of the Mississippi and the soil is not so rich. the cotton as well as every thing else produces abundantly in this country. I wish to know where Brother William is I do not expect he has set out yet. Gracey sends hir love to all hir fathers family and yours not forgetting her grand marm nor any inquiring friends. She appears well contented hoping to see her relation next year, if William does not receive my letters give him this information & remember me to all enquiring friends and relations &c I am sir your well wishing Brother

JOHN ORDWAY.

Stephen Ordway

I beg you to write emmediately on your receiving this letter and please to inform me of all your welfare and where Brother William and Jeremiah Putnam is as I look for them in the Spring—

(On Back Sheet.)

25c.
Nov. 15 1807

Mr.
Stephen Ordway
Township of Hebron, Grafton
County, New Hampshire State.
by mail to Plymouth post-office in the
state of N. H.

THE ARCHIVES AT JEFFERSON CITY.*

One of the most encouraging tendencies from the point of view of the student of local history is the widespread and increasing interest in the preservation and arrangement of the state archives. Beginning in the older states, especially in New England, it has extended to nearly every section and resulted, in many states, in the organization of special departments for the purpose of assembling and preserving the official records. In Missouri, however, the student is confronted at the outset by the destruction of the first capital by fire in 1837, and with it the papers of the Department of State. As that Department was from the beginning the custodian of legislative and executive documents, the State Archives contain very imperfect records for the territorial and early state periods, and very little for the Spanish Regime.

It is doubtful if any considerable number of papers of the Spanish period were ever deposited with the central government in Missouri. The form of Government under the Spanish was very simple; a military despotism of a benevolent character, with a Lieutenant Governor at St. Louis, and Commandants at New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve, and St. Charles. Under the Treaty of Purchase the Spanish were to remove all records except those concerning land titles, but many of the letters and papers of the Governors are preserved in private collections, especially those of the Missouri Historical Society and of Mr. Louis Houck. Such of the Instructions to and Reports from the Lieutenant Governors as have survived are in the Cuban Archives or at Simancas; transcripts of these may be found with the Missouri Historical Society.

The Spanish land records were left at the local posts and came eventually under the control of the counties. At present the St. Louis records are in the custody of the City of St. Louis, those of Ste. Genevieve and New Madrid are deposited with the

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* A paper read before the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia, Dec. 17, 1907.

Missouri Historical Society, and the others are presumably in the county records. While the State possesses only a few official papers of the Spanish, the Land Department contains a mass of information as to Spanish grants and surveys. This was occasioned by the uncertainty as to land titles in 1804, and the unwillingness of the United States to confirm imperfect titles. The result was a series of acts and commissions, which called for the presentation of the original Spanish grants and surveys or evidence of actual settlement. The proofs were retained after the claims were confirmed and are the oldest documents preserved at Jefferson City. Not only are the original papers preserved, but they are copied into the Record Book of the Recorder of Land Titles, and are explained and amplified in the rocords of the various commissions. All these except the originals are indexed by number of claim and by name of claimant, and through the Exhibit of Private Land Claims, which notes every reference to every claim. Here is abundant material to reconstruct the extent of settlement in 1804, and much incidental information as to conditions before that date; with the local records already referred to, there may be drawn a reasonably complete picture of the development after 1770.

The papers as to private claims are not the only interesting and important series in the land department. Here may be found a complete set of the field notes of the original United States survey, a fair copy of the same, and the original plats—with the private claims the basis of all land titles in the State. The disposal of the various grants made by the National Government to the State—the swamp lands, the public improvement grant, the school, seminary and saline land—can be traced in detail. The New Madrid earthquake indemnity grants, so well known in the early history of the state, are all entered in the records. Less important, perhaps, but not less interesting are various surveys of the state boundaries, the original surveys of over two hundred state roads, and a record of the boundaries of municipal townships.

For administrative purposes the Land Department has been attached to the Department of State, but the records of the latter are quite distinct. None of them go back of 1838, with two exceptions; by some accident the election returns of 1836 escaped the fire, and the Civil Register back to 1820 was reconstructed after the fire. The semi-annual reports made by the Territorial Secretary to the President, now being indexed at Washington, are the only means of filling the gap for the Territorial period. The records of the Department of State fall naturally into three classes; Executive Records, Legislative Records and Administrative Records of the Department.

The Executive Records are remarkably extensive because the governor has never retained any papers except those in reference to cases not acted on, and private correspondence, and much of the latter has eventually found a place in the department records. When the governor decides on any official act, he sends an order, accompanied by the documents of the case to the Secretary. On this warrant the Secretary issues the appropriate paper—commission, pardon, proclamation or whatever it may be. The original papers are put on file and the order entered in the Register of Civil Proceedings. The paper issued is also recorded, usually on a duplicate form. The making of an appointment is the commonest act of the governor and the records of commissions issued the most extensive ones among the executive papers. Here should be noted the Register of Civil Officers from 1820 to date, giving the name, date of commission and office of every important official, state and county. The lists from 1860 to 1870 reflect the troubled times in frequent notes of officials who failed to take the various oaths of loyalty and forfeited their offices. The most interesting of the executive papers are not properly speaking official records at all, but the private correspondence of the governors as to appointments and party politics. For the earlier period especially there are numerous letters of application and endorsement, which give most interesting glimpses of political methods and the inside of party politics. Unfortunately the more recent governors have been more careful to separate public and private correspondence.

Beside exercising the appointing power, the governor grants pardons, commutations and remitters, and honors or issues requisitions, and issues proclamations. The pardon papers are very extensive and contain much for the student of social conditions, but the requisitions include some items of general interest. Such for instance are those on the attempt to arrest and execute Joseph Smith from Nauvoo, as an accessory to the attempted assassination of ex-Governor Boggs, an attempt defeated by Stephen A. Douglas, then a local judge; the demands of the Illinois governor for the surrender of Missourians who crossed to Illinois to recover stolen goods from the Mormons and incidentally brought the Mormons over to Missouri for trial; and the troubles of Missouri slave owners who brought their runaways back from Illinois without much attention to the letter of the law.

The Secretary of State is the custodian of all records of the General Assembly, which include beside the original Laws and the Journals of the House and Senate, a mass of miscellaneous papers of every assembly since the tenth in 1838. These Legislative Documents fill one room in the basement and with the possible exception of the land records, are the most interesting collection in the Archives. Beginning with a bundle of bills of the tenth session "vetoed by the governor because of bad spelling" there is not a session without some items of interest. There are the reports of investigating committees of all sorts from those which took evidence on the behavior of the Missouri troops in the Seminole war to that which investigated the State University; the evidence presented in the various impeachments; and the evidence in the numerous contested elections. The reports of the standing committees and bills rejected or vetoed supplement the formal journals. For the earlier sessions the Legislative Documents include also the original reports of the heads of departments. And finally must be noted several collections of papers submitted by the Governor to the Assembly, especially the extensive lists on the expulsion of the Mormons and the Border troubles.

Four Conventions, beginning with that of 1845 have deposited their formal records and their miscellaneous papers with the Secretary of State. These include the original copies of three Constitutions, signed by the members of the Conventions, and the Emancipation Ordinance of 1865. Most important of all, because as yet unpublished, are the fifty eight volumes of reports on the speeches and debates in the Convention of 1875. In view of the present agitation for a new constitution, it is to be hoped that these proceedings will be printed for the use of the next convention. In connection with the conventions there is a certain interest in the original journal and resolutions of the so-called "rebel legislature" at Neosho and of the Missouri "Secession Ordinance."

The administrative functions of the Secretary of State have become somewhat less extensive with the creation of minor departments and commissions, but with growth of manufacturing and greater complexity of industrial organization his duties have increased in importance. In the vault of the department are the original Articles of Association, and all changes therein of every Missouri corporation organized under general acts since 1849. The State aid to Railroads before the war and the foreclosure and sale of these railroads during "reconstruction" times are represented by a mass of papers which afford material for a final study of these much discussed questions. The supervision of Banks and Banking Corporations has assumed such importance that the last Assembly created a new department to take over this work; the records in this connection run back to 1857 and include both the formal statements of the Banks and the reports of the Bank Examiners. All corporations now file annual reports and anti-trust affidavits, but those of the railroads and insurance companies are to be found in other departments.

Beside the general supervision of corporations, the Secretary of State receives and announces the results of elections.

The returns of the presidential elections since 1836, and of the state elections since 1838 are reasonably complete and cast a flood of light on political history before the war. The miscellaneous papers such as contracts for printing, for the building and alteration of the Capitol, letter books and letter files, licenses to pharmacists and auto-drivers, reports of state institutions, etc., are too numerous to catalog. Four of the great seals of the State have been preserved, including one of the earlier designs, with the bears crouching. The most interesting is the one carried off by Governor Jackson in 1861 and returned to Governor McClurg by Lieutenant Governor Reynolds. Governor McClurg's description of it in his letter of acknowledgement as the original seal of the State is an evident error.

Next to the Secretary of State in importance, but far behind him in the richness of his records, is the Auditor. His department apparently escaped the fire of 1837 unharmed, as his records run back to the territorial period, the oldest series dating from 1810. The Journal, a daily record of receipts and expenditures, and the Ledger, a classified record of expenditures are both complete from 1821 to the present time. The duplicate Treasurer's Receipts, showing all payments to the Auditor, are on file since 1810, and the Warrant vouchers, the receipted claims for the miscellaneous expenditures, since 1821. Taken altogether these records form a remarkably complete and well arranged record of the handling of the State's money since the beginning of the State government.

The assessing and collection of the state revenue is a second important duty of the Auditor and has resulted in a large number of volumes and files of collectors' settlements and of correspondence. The Auditor as a member of the State Board of Equalization has the care of the Journals and papers of that board. Of more general historical interest is the collection of early county assessment books, dating from 1816 to 1840 and giving the name and assessment of every real estate owner, or even, for the territorial, period, of every property owner. These with the numerous lists of delinquent taxpayers coming down to quite recent time, will be of great value to the local antiquarian.

Although the State debt with the exception of the rather anomalous certificates of indebtedness is now happily a thing of the past, the records of the debt are preserved. At first the coupons as they were paid were cancelled and thrown into boxes, and checked off on the records, but early in the seventies a more elaborate system was devised. The coupons were pasted into enormous scrap books, a page for each bond, and the bond itself, when paid, was pasted to the top of the page. So the original bonds and the majority of the coupons are readily accessible. There is also an extensive record of the issuance and redemption of the Union Defence Warrants and Bonds of the War period. Under the general heading of bonds is included also the registration of all local bonds issued, municipal, county or school district.

The Treasurer in Missouri simply cares for the cash of the State, without control of the collection or disposal of the revenue. His books correspond in arrangement almost exactly with the accounts of the auditor, are balanced with them frequently, and have not been carefully preserved. Very few go back of 1865 and since that date the series is not complete. When preserved they add nothing to the information preserved in the Auditor's office.

From time to time, as some particular administrative function assumed especial importance, new departments and commissions have been created to meet the demand. The oldest of these is the Department of Education, organized first in 1839, merged with the Department of State in 1841 and finally established in 1853. Its records contain little of interest not included in the published reports except the extensive and much scattered letter files. The Department next in chronological order, the Registry of Land, has been reunited to the Department of State and its records have already been described. The Insurance Department, organized in 1869, has the general supervision of insurance companies, domestic and foreign, with the special purpose of excluding fraudulent companies and preventing undue delay in the settlement of claims. In this connection all outside companies are required to keep on file not only copies of their articles of incorporation but numerous reports and certificates, proving their honesty and solvency, and a power of attorney permitting the Superintendent to receive service of writs addressed to them. The domestic companies, of late increasing in number and importance, are subjected to a close inspection. Not the least important function of the department is the assessment of the insurance tax on foreign corporations, a not inconsiderable item in the State revenue.

The Railroad and Warehouse Commission has not been granted as yet such extensive powers as in many western states, and has been concerned rather with individual cases of extortion and discrimination than with comprehensive plans of regulation, although it has the power to draw up tariffs. The title of the Supervisor of Building and Loan Associations explains his duties; the Bureau of Labor statistics collects the information and publishes reports on the products of the State and on conditions of employment. There are many other miscellaneous commissions and bureaus, but they are located away from Jefferson City, and do not therefore fall within the limits of this report.

The Governor exercises his powers as head of the State militia through the Adjutant General, who has general supervision of the militia and care of the military records of the State. This is a department which in times of peace attracts very little attention and in consequence has been badly handicapped in the task of completing and arranging its records by lack of funds. There is very little on record as to the expedition of the State militia, not mustered into the national service. Scattered about in various departments are fragmentary records of the Osage War, the last Indian difficulty in the State, of the Heatherly War, and the expedition to defend the northern boundary in the dispute with Iowa. Somewhat more complete records may be found in the Secretary of

State's office on the Mormon expedition, and the Border troubles, particularly on General Frost's Southwest expedition of 1860. In the Adjutant General's office are the papers of the Missouri troops in the Black Hawk war, the Seminole War and the Mexican war, the latter now in the process of arrangement and transfer to card records.

The break down of the regular State Government in 1861 and the determination of Governor Gamble to maintain as far as possible the autonomy of the state troops led to a bewildering system of nomenclature for the Missouri troops in the Union army. There were no less than sixteen distinct classes of troops and an unknown number of irregular organizations. With such complexity there was necessarily some confusion; many officers were negligent about depositing regimental records, but the original muster rolls and records of service as far as preserved are on file. The present Adjutant General, Gen. DeArmond, and his chief clerk, Mr. Thompson, have done much to make accessible these records of the self-devotion of Missourians; it is greatly to be regretted that the Confederate service is almost unrepresented.

The Judiciary, the third of the co-ordinate branches of government is particularly fortunate both in an unbroken series of records from the organization of the Territorial Court in 1805, and in a dignified and adequate building. The earliest Record Book begins with the first meeting of the Territorial Court at St. Louis in 1805, and this series continues until the Supreme Court ceased to meet at St. Louis in 1876. Other series contain the transactions of the Court at various places of meeting, until all others were abandoned and the Supreme Court was permanently located, as at present, at Jefferson City. In addition to these volumes of decisions of the Court there are some hundreds of filing boxes for the papers of the cases—abstracts of the evidence submitted to the lower court, details of the proceedings of the Supreme Court and the opinion of the court on which the decision was reached. These records have an added interest and importance when one considers that neither the opinions nor the decisions of the Territorial Court, have ever been published.

Notwithstanding the most unfortunate conflagration of 1837, Missouri evidently possesses State Archives well up to the average in extent and value. The loss of the earlier records, regrettable as it is, can be partially supplied from the local records and private collections; the gap in the material for the earlier years of statehood is more irreparable. State Archives it must be remembered are always of a formal nature and leave almost untouched some of the most vital topics in the State's history, such as the every day life of the people, but for the student of the political life of the State, of its economic development and of its military history the Archives are indispensable, and for much of its land policy and for many incidents such as the Mormon troubles and the relations with the anti-slavery men in Kansas, they are the sole source of information. Less apparent perhaps is the opportunity for the genealogist, whose labors in this State with the lack of official records are so discouraging.

It must be admitted that the condition of the Archives leaves much to be desired. Missouri is better off than many of the surrounding states and than some much older. Except for the fire there has been, it would seem, very little actual destruction, practically none from the two most dangerous enemies of manuscripts, damp and vermin. But while the various series show remarkably few gaps, they are too often scattered in various rooms or even departments and in a state of great confusion. There are still some score of packing boxes full of papers of which only a superficial examination is possible. The reason for this unfortunate condition, a condition by no means peculiar to Missouri, is not far to seek. Since 1850 at least the Capitol has been inadequate to the demands. The remodeling in 1889 relieved an intolerable situation but made no allowance for the rapid increase in administrative business and in number of departments. The natural and inevitable results of this lack of space has been that papers not needed in the routine work of the departments and seldom referred to have been crowded into rooms in the basement, where they have lain in great confusion and accumulated an unwarranted amount of dirt. The present Secretary of State, Mr. Swanger, found at least half the records of his department boxed up in a dark room in the basement or piled on the floor. By detailing some of his clerical force from their routine work which today at any rate is as exacting as in any private enterprise, and drawing on his contingent fund, he has made accessible and roughly arranged the larger part of these papers, but much remains to be done. Other departments and that of the Adjutant General in particular, have shown a commendable zeal in improving conditions. The assistant clerk of the Supreme Court, Mr. Fisher, is taking advantage of the ample and convenient quarters in the new building to put the records of the Court in final order. But it is manifestly unfair to expect any administration today to remedy unaided a situation which has been developing for sixty years and is due primarily not to the fault of any one, but to conditions. Moreover, there would be a great economy of time and effort if the Archives were arranged, catalogued and labeled as a whole and in accord with a consistent and carefuly considered plan which could be followed for the future. This is not the work of one year or of one administration, but a beginning could and should be made at once. Of the states admitted to the Union in the same period as Missouri, Alabama and Mississippi have well organized departments for the care of the State Archives; of the neighboring States, Iowa has made very liberal appropriations for the same purpose, and Arkansas has made a beginning. The form of organization differs widely in various states; the Archives as a whole may be placed under the charge of the Secretary of State; an entirely distinct department may be created; the State Librarian may be the custodian. The best form is that best suited to local conditions and is comparatively unimportant; the work is of the highest importance. It is hoped that it will receive the careful consideration of the next General Assembly. (1)

JONAS VILES.

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1. The investigation on which this paper is based was made possible by the Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, which will publish soon a more elaborate Report on the Archives of Missouri.

MISSOURI OLD SETTLERS' DAY TALES.*

It must not be inferred that the use of the word "Tales" in this paper justifies the conclusion that either the warp and woof of the narratives, or the names and dates employed, are inventions of the imagination of the writer, having little or no foundation in fact. On the contrary they are all historically true.

Sam Cole at A Country Dance.

Cole's Fort was one of several stockade forts established in Central Missouri in 1812 for the protection of the early settlers. Hannah Cole, a widow with nine children, aided by her several grown sons, established the fort on a Missouri river bluff about a mile below the present city of Boonville, Cooper county, and on the south side of the river. This fort in 1816, the year before Boonville was established and a short time after Howard county was organized, was the capital of that county and David Barton, July 8, 1816, held the first circuit court there ever held in Central Missouri. In 1820 Barton was elected one of the United States Senators from Missouri. Thomas H. Benton was the other.

After the close of the war of 1812, Gilliard Rupe built a cabin at the mouth of Rupe's Branch in Boonville. In 1817 Wm. Bartlett erected and opened an Old Settlers' boarding house near the same spot. Bartlett's tavern soon became the center of dancing frolics and other social functions, which were largely attended by the young people, as well as by many of the older, of the region round about. Fashion, as we understand it, was unknown, and therefore both lads and lasses "tripped the light fantastic," to the inartistic but soul-stirring music of the fiddle; in the heavy shoes made by a neighborhood cobbler and in the rustic gowns and homespun and homemade coats and trousers of the settlers' cabins.

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* Read at the annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Dec. 10, 1904.

Sam Cole, the youngest son of the widow of the Fort, resolved one summer's afternoon to attend a dance at Bartlett's tavern. Not having been invited "cut no ice" with Sam, for in that respect he was on an equal footing with all the young men of the neighborhood. He however had neither coat nor trousers, his wardrobe consisting only of a tow-linen shirt which extended to his heels. His mother protested he must not appear at the dance in this garb, but Sam determined otherwise. He had a fat, sleek young bull perfectly tractable, which he rode everywhere instead of a saddle horse. Mounting the bull, he rode up the river to Bartlett's, dismounted, and hitched "Ball" to a tree on the river bank.

Those about the tavern gave Sam a cold reception. They guyed and made fun of him fearfully. Very soon he quailed before the storm of jibs and threats of ducking in the river, beat a hasty retreat to his bull, and mounting drove him into the river. Obeying the command to swim down stream Ball, the bull, "struck out" for home, Sam slipping from his back into the water and holding to his tail in safety until his return to the Fort.

Samuel Cole died in Cooper county soon after the close of the Civil War.

Vanbibber's Six Thousand Years' Philosophy.

Previous to the Revolutionary War, two brothers, Peter and Isaac Vanbibber, emigrated from Holland to America and settled in Botetourt county, Virginia. James, one of the sons of Peter, came to Missouri in 1800 and settled in St. Charles county; afterwards in Callaway. Isaac Vanbibber, Sr., brother of Peter, was killed in the battle of Point Pleasant, Va., in 1774, leaving a widow and four children, among the latter Isaac then only about three years of age. He was adopted and raised by Daniel Boone and in 1800 came to Missouri with Nathan Boone and settled in Darst's Bottom, St. Charles county. Afterwards marrying, he settled at Loutre Lick on Loutre creek, Montgomery county, where he built a large two-story frame house, as a tavern. It was situated on the main road from St. Charles to the Boone's Lick country and was the stopping place of travelers and emigrants. The tavern was extensively patronized and Vanbibber realized a large amount of money out of it.

Isaac Vanbibber was very eccentric and became a very noted citizen. He omitted no opportunity to declare and enforce his belief that every six thousand years there was a recurrance of the same events in the world's history and of course in the history of all of its inhabitants. He was active and persistent in the defense of this peculiar philosophy. Neither the process by which he reached this strange conclusion nor the reasons he gave to defend it, have descended to this generation. He died in 1836.

A few years before his death, three young Kentuckians rode up on horseback to his tavern and stopped for the night. After supper Vanbibber, as was his custom, boldly declared his six thousand years recurring philosophy and defended it as best he could against the objections, ridicule and quibbles of the disbelieving Kentuckians.

Next morning, when preparing to leave on their journey westward, the Kentuckians concluded to play a practical joke on Vanbibber and to subject his professed faith in his philosophy to a business test. They said: "Now, Mr. Vanbibber, you believe we will all be here again, just as we are now, six thousand years hence; to test your belief in this doctrine we propose to give you our joint note for the amount of our bills, at 10 per cent interest, payable six thousand years after date." For a moment Vanbibber was in an embarrassing dilemma. Recovering from it, however, he replied: "You are smart young fellows all the way from Old Kaintuck, and I would at once accept your note and let you kap on, but I remember all three of you were here six thousand years ago and left without paying your bills and now I am afraid to trust you. So you will have to 'shell out.'" And "shell out" they did.

Pioneer Club to Stimulate Love of Poetry.

Chauncey M. Depew in his speech at the 119th annual banquet of the New York Chamber of Commerce, at Delmonico's, November 15, 1887, referred to a student society in his college days organized to promote extemporaneous and sententious oratory; and to the fact that on one occasion the Professor of Rhetoric, who presided, called for him and said, "Sir, your time is three minutes; your subject, "The Immorality of the Soul." I was present at the banquet and heard the speech.

During the Old Settlers' Days in Central Missouri, and in Howard county, the writer was a member of a Society, which met at the school house, to stimulate a love for poetry and to cultivate a talent for producing it extemporaneously. Each member on being called for was expected to pronounce at least a couplet of his own composition or selection or pay a fine. J. H. H. had no taste for poetry, original or selected, and was never known to be inspired by "the divine afflatus" to the extent of attempting its composition. Evidently he had expected to use a certain couplet; but in the crisis of the call by the president he got the lines mixed and misfitted, and much to the amusement of the entire club and his own discomfiture gave out this laughable specimen of pioneer prose on stilts:

"She slips and she slides along;
A faithful friend is hard to find."

The Paroxysm of laughter into which the club was thrown threatened it with disrupture and drove "the poet laureate" incontinently from the house, never to return.

Two Old Settlers' Families Fight About a Flock of Geese.

During pioneer days in Boone county, Missouri, there occurred a serious scrimmage over a flock of geese in which both sexes engaged between the families of Robert Pickett and Smiley Lewis, who were near neighbors.

In the spring of the year the geese of the families ran at will in the bottom lands of a neighboring creek, and when feather picking time came it was the practice of the settlers to send to the creek bottom for their flocks and drive them home. Of course the flocks often become so mixed that trouble sometimes arose in determining property rights in the premises. Thus it developed in respect to the geese of the Pickett and Lewis families

One bright spring morning Mrs. Pickett sent Margaret Ann, the colored servant woman, to the creek bottom to "round up" her geese for picking. "Marg" was perhaps not as careful as she might have been or in every instance didn't know the Pickett from the Lewis geese. At all events Mrs. Lewis claimed that "Marg" had driven from the bottom some of her geese, and demanded that they be surrendered then and there. Mrs. Pickett refused to give them up and a lively tongue-lashing between the parties ensued. Finally Mrs. Lewis declared she would have her geese or she would "whip the whole shooting match."

Then she returned home, but soon returned with her husband and again demanded her geese. Mrs. Pickett again refused, and "Marg" seconded the motion. Harsh and angry words, in fact a fierce quarrel, followed. Mr. Pickett happened to be in the house, and hearing the quarrel came out and ordered the whole Lewis gang off the place. But Mr. Lewis swore in big round early settlers' phrase he would not go till his wife got her geese, whereupon Pickett rushed upon him with a piece of plank, knocking him down. Then Charles, a young son of Lewis, whizzed a rock at Pickett and made him bite the dust. Seeing this, the colored woman, Margaret, came to the rescue with an axe and flew at Charles, who at once took to his heels, jumped the fence and ran through the woods to the house of Reason Richards. He seemed almost scared to death and reported that "Bob Pickett had killed pap and I have killed Pickett, and I expect several more are dead by this time as I left them fighting."

Tom Richards, a son of Reason, hastened to the reported scene of slaughter and found nobody killed or even seriously wounded. Pickett was sitting in a chair in the house and his wife was bathing his forehead with camphor, the Lewises had left for home, and Maragaret Ann was in the stable lot feeding the geese with shelled corn.

Old Time Episode With a Bay Steer.

In pioneer times in "the wild and wooly west" the early settlers tanned their own leather and a shoemaker of the neighborhood manufactured all the footwear that was used. Store shoes were unknown and in many places even stores themselves.

"Uncle David Finley," as everybody in his part of Boone county, Missouri, called him, became indebted to the neighborhood shoemaker for making shoes for his family and the debt was to be discharged at hog killing time by a dressed hog. The killing occurred and "Uncle Dayy" was anxious to pay the debt. But he had no wagon or sled and the shoemaker lived about three or four miles away. How to get the hog to him was therefore a perplexing question.

It soon occurred to him, however, that he had a pair of gentle work steers, and he determined to fasten the hog on the back of one of them and lead him to the shoemaker's. This he did, with ropes, and "Buck" seeming to be all right the prospect was good to accomplish the journey.

"Uncle Davey," with one end of the lead rope in his hand, led the way and the steer with the dressed hog on his back followed. Unfortunately, however, after a few steps, "Buck" turned his eye to his side, took in the situation, become thoroughly frightened, sprang into the air with a loud shout, broke away from "Uncle Davy" and went through the adjacent woods jumping, bellowing and kicking with might and main.

Very soon the hog got under his belly and the situation became more frightful and "Buck" seemed beside himself. Finally he ran back into the yard from which he started, when "Aunt Abby" came out of the house and tried to pacify him by a kindly "suke, suke." But this did no good, and when last reliably heard from the bay steer with the dressed hog under his belly was running and rearing and bawling as if old nick was after him horn and hounds.

Be this as it may the people in that neighborhood, although now of a new generation, have been laughing for more than fifty years over the incident here recited.

WILLIAM F. SWITZLER.

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Compiled by F. A. Sampson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

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Vol. II, No. 1, Oct., 1907, 96 p.

HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.

Forty-eighth annual report, 1905. Jeff. City, n. d. Bd. 451, x p. pls.

Forty-ninth annual report, 1906. Jeff. City, n. d. Bd. 402, vii p. pls.

INDUSTRIAL HOME FOR GIRLS.

Ninth biennial report, ending Dec. 31, 1906. Jeff. City, n. d. 54 p. 6 pls.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

INSANE, STATE HOSPITAL NO. 1.

Twenty-seventh biennial report, 1905-06. Fulton, Mo., 1907. 66 p. 7 pls.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals. 54 p.

INSANE, STATE HOSPITAL NO. 2.

Sixteenth Biennial report, 1907. St. Joseph, Mo., n. d. 48 p. 16 pls. & 3 folded pls.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals. 41 p.

INSANE, STATE HOSPITAL NO. 3.

Tenth biennial report, 1905-06. Nevada, 1907. 66, (1) p. pls.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals. 54 p.

INSANE, STATE HOSPITAL NO. 4.

Third biennial report. (1905-06) n. p. n. d. 59 p. pls.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals. 55 p.

INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

Thirty-seventh report for the year 1905. Jeff City, n. d. Cl. LXLVII, 978 p.

Advance sheets of above were issued. Jeff. City, n. d. LXLVII p.

Thirty-eighth report for year 1906. St. Louis, n. d. cl. CIII, 990 p.

Insurance laws of the State of Missouri, 1907-08. Jeff. City, n. d. 122 [1] p.

Report regarding expended insurance loan and cost surrender values, life insurance. Jeff. City, [1907] pm 7 p.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Missouri insurance agents' Directory, 1907. Jeff. City, n. d. pm 181 p.

Abstracts from statements of Missouri Town Mutual Fire Insurance Companies, Dec. 31, 1906. St. L., n. d. 16 p.

JAMESTOWN TRI-CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.

Report of Commissioners, 1906. Jeff. City, n. d. 14 p.

Contained in Appendix to Journals.

LABOR STATISTICS AND INSPECTION, BUREAU OF.

Twenty-seventh annual report, ending Nov. 5, 1905. Jeff. City, n. d. Bd. 476, (2), II, p.

Twenty-eighth annual report, ending Nov. 5, 1906. Jeff. City, n. d. Bd. 571 (1) p.

Surplus products of counties for year 1905. Jeff. City, n. d. pm. 85 p.

Same, 1906. Jeff. City, 1907, pm. 145 p.

Labor industrial statistical laws of Missouri, Oct. 1907. Jeff. City. n. d. Pm. 60 p.

State Labor Commissioner's official map of Missouri for 1906, showing value of commodities shipped from each county during 1905. 27¾x32½ in.

Same for 1906. 27x33 in.

LEWIS AND CLARK EXPOSITION.

Report of the Missouri Commission. Jeff. City, [1907], 7 p.

Contained in Appendix to Journals.

LIBRARY, MISSOURI STATE.

Report to the 44th General Assembly. Jeff. City, n. d. 23 p.

Contained in Appendix to Journals. 23.

LIBRARY COMMISSION, MISSOURI.

First annual report, 1907. Jeff. City, n. d. Pm. 27 p.

Traveling libraries: What they are and how to secure them. (Jeff. City, n. d.) pm. 16 p.

LINCOLN INSTITUTE.

Reports of receipts and expenditures on account of Lincoln Institute for years 1905-06. Jeff. City, n. d. 15 p.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Report of Treasurer of Lincoln Institute, 1905-06. Jeff. City, n. d.

Contained in Appendix to Journals.

Catalogue not seen.

MEDIATION AND ARBITRATION.

Biennial report to 44th General Assembly. Jeff. City, n. d.

Contained in Appendix to Journals. 5 p.

MINES AND MINE INSPECTION.

Nineteenth annual report, embracing report on coal, lead, zinc and other mines for 1905. Jeff. City, n. d. Bd. 518, VI p.

Twentieth annual report for 1906. Jeff. City, n. d. Bd. xv, 423 p. pls.

NORMAL SCHOOLS.

First District, Kirksville.

Biennial report of Regents to 44th General Assembly, Jan. 1907, n. p. n. d. oblong, 48 p. 6 plts.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals, 47 p.

Bulletins. Kirksville. quarterly.

Vol. V. No. 4, March, 1906. oblong. 38 p. 16 plts.
Vol. VI, No. 1, June, 1906, oblong, 111 p. 16 plts.
Vol. VI, No. 2, Sept., 1906, 11 p.
Vol. VI, No. 3, Dec., 1906. Oblong. 29 p. 18 plts.
Special Bulletin, Jan., 1907, oblong, 8, [3] p. 3 plts.
Vol. VI, No. 4, March, 1907 (not seen).
Vol. VII, No. 1, June, 1907, 127 [1] p. 14 plts.
Vol. VII, No. 2, Sept. 1907. 3 p.
Vol. VII, supplement to Sept., 11 p.
Vol. VII, No. 3, Dec., 1907. 3 p.

Second District, Warrensburg.

Biennial report of the Board of Regents, 1905-6, Warrensburg, 1907. 47 p. 12 pls.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals, 43 p.

Bulletin. Vol. V., No. 2. Feb., 1906. 69 (1) p. 5 pls. Ills. (No number 3 issued.)

Bulletin. Vol. V. No. 4. April, 1906. 29 p. 16 pls.

Bulletin. Vol. VI. No. 1. July, 1906. (Catalog) 117, (1) p. 13 pls.

Bulletin. Vol. VI. No. 2. Oct., 1906. [8] p.

Bulletin. Vol. VI. No. 3. Jan., 1907. 32, [4] p. 4 pls.

Bulletin. Vol. VI. No. 4. Apr., 1907. 35 p. 4 pls.

Bulletin. Vol. VII. No. 1. July, 1907. 123 p. 12 pls.

Bulletin. Vol. VII. No. 2. Oct., 1907. [15] p.

Third District, Cape Girardeau.

17th Biennial report, 1905-06. Cape G. n. d. pm. 59 (1) p. 4 pls.

Contained also in appendix to Journals. 50 p.

Bulletins, Cape Girardeau.

Vol. 6. No. 4. Jan., 1906. (Not seen.)
No. 5. Mch., 1906. [8] p.
Vol. 7. No. 1. June, 1906. Catalog. 100, (2) p. ills.
No. 2. Oct., 1906. [8] p.
No. 3 and 4. Dec. and Jan. [3] p.
No. 5. Mch., 1907. 12 p.
Vol. 8. No. 1. June, 1907. Catalog 119, (3) p. Ills.
No. 2 and 3. Oct. and Dec. 4 p.

Fourth District, Springfield.

Report, 1907-08. [1905-06] n. p., n. d. 10 p.

This report was added to and appears in Appendix to the Journals as

Report, 1906. Jeff. City. n. d. 26 p.
Bulletin. Vol. 1. No. 1. (Not seen.)
Bulletin. Vol. 1. No. 2. July, 1907. Catalog. 48 p. 9 pls.
Bulletin. Vol. 1. No. 3. Oct., 1906. 8 p.
Bulletin. Vol. 1. No. 4. Jan., 1907. 4 p.
Bulletin. Vol. II. No. 1. Apr., 1907. 32 p. 5 pls.
Bulletin. Vol. II. No. 2. July, 1907. Catalog. 48 p. 9 pls.

Fifth District—Maryville.

Report of S. G. Gillam, treasurer. 1905-06. Jeff. City. n. d. 12 p. Contained in appendix to Journals.

Bulletins, Maryville.

Vol. 1. No. 1.
No. 2. June, 1906. 20 p. 4 pls.
No. 3. Not seen.
No. 4. Not seen.
Vol 2. No. 1. Not seen.
No. 2. July, 1907. 35 p. 20 pls.
No. 3. Oct., 1907. 12 p.

PENITENTIARY.

Biennial report of board of inspectors, warden, physician and chaplain to the 44th General Assembly. Jeff. City, n. d. Pm. 269 p. folded pl. Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

PHARMACY, STATE BOARD.

Report, 1905-06. Jeff. City. n. d. 5 p. Contained in Appendix to Journals.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

56th report year ending June 30, 1905. Jeff. City, 1906. cl. 256, iv p. ills.

57th report, year ending June 30, 1906. Jeff. City. n. d. cl. 248 p. ills.

Revised course of study for the rural and graded schools and for approved High Schools. 1907. n. p., n. d. 138 p.

Revised school laws; revised statutes, 1899. and session acts 1901-03-05-07. Jeff City, n. d. 133 p.

List of teachers holding state certificates and now in force. Oct. 1, 1906. Jeff. City, n. d. 76 p.

Concerning county supervision of schools. By Howard A. Gass, State Superintendent. Jeff. City, n. d. 16 p.

RAILROAD AND WAREHOUSE.

30th annual report, year ending June 30, 1905. Jeff. City. [1906]. Bd. 589, IX p.

31st annual report year ending June 30, 1906. Jeff City. n. d. Bd. 700 v. p.

Special report concerning passenger earnings. 1907. Jeff. City, n. d. 8 p. Contained in Appendix to Journals.

Commissioners official railway map of Missouri. Chi. (c. 1907.) 42x50 inches.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Official Manual for 1905-1906. Jeff. City. n. d. Bd. 581, x p. Portraits.

Biennial report of Corporations. 1905-1906. Jeff. City. n. d. Pm. 3 p.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Roster of state and county officers and official vote for supreme judge. 1907. Jeff. City, n. d. pm. 39 p.

Brief of bills passed by the 44th General Assembly, 1907. n. t. p. 9 p.

Sixth biennial report on examination of the state banks of Missouri. Jeff. City, n. d. liii, 506 p.

Banking laws of the state of Missouri to take effect Jan. 15, 1909. (Laws of 1907.) Jeff. City, n. d. 47 p.

Provisions of the election laws, 1906. Jeff City, n. d. 178, II, p.

Laws relating to roads, highways and bridges revised to date. 1907. Jeff. City, n. d. 136, II p.

Outline of the primary election law, 44th General Assembly, 1907. Jeff. City. n. d. 11 p.

Primary election laws, 44th General Assembly, 1907. Jeff. City, n. d. 47 p.

Provision of the election laws. 1906. Jeff. City. n. d. 178. II p.

Laws relating to roads, highways and bridges revised to date. 1907. Jeff. City. n. d. 136, II p.

Outline of the primary election law, 44th General Assembly. 1907. Jeff. City. n. d. 11 p.

Primary election laws, 44th General Assembly. 1907. Jeff. City, n. d. 13 p.

TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS.

9th Biennial report. 1905-1906. Printed by the boys at the school. Boonville, n. d. Pm. [47] p. pls.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals. 33 p.

TREASURER, STATE.

Biennial report to 44th General Assembly. Jeff. City, 1907. Leather, cl. and pm. 88 p.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

Biennial report of Board of Curators for two years ending Dec. 31, 1906. Jeff. City, 1907. 327 p.

Presidents annual address to the Board of Curators, 1905-06. Columbia, 1906. 161 p.

Same for 1906-07. Columbia, 1907. 175 p.

Bulletins of the University of Missouri:

Vol. VII. Columbia, 1906.

No. 1, Jan., summer session, 3 p. 1 pl.

No. 2. Feb. Views. Obl. 32 p.

No. 3. Mch. Academic and teachers. 35 p.

No. 4. Apr., Law dept. 24 p.

No. 5. May. 64th catalog. 398 p.

No. 6. June. Dept of Medicine. [4] p.

No. 7. July, General Announcement. 8 p.

No. 8. Aug. School of Engineering. 12 [1] p.

No. 9. Sept. College of Agriculture. 16 p.

No. 10. Oct. Do. Winter Course. 48 p. ills.

No. 11. Nov. Second Semester. [4] p.

No. 12. Dec. Alumni Directory. 4 o. 105 p.

Vol. VIII. Columbia, 1907.

No. 1. Jan. The Success of the College Graduate, by Dr. J. C. Jones. 15 p.

No. 2. Feb. Views. Obl. 31 p.

No. 3. Mch. Summer Session. 29 p.

No. 4. Apr. Dept. of Law. 23 p.

No. 5. May. 65th catalog. 427 p.

No. 6. June. Teachers' College. 29 p.

No. 7. July. General announcement. 8 p. ills.

No. 8. Aug. Dept. Engineering. 16 p.

No. 9. Sept. College of Agriculture. 20 p.

No. 10. Oct. Medical Dept. 30 p. 6 pls.

No. 11. Nov. College of Agr. 23 p. ills.

No. 12. Dec. [Given as Vol. IX., Dec., 1908] 8 p. ills.

Circular of Information, issued by the committee on accredited schools. Fourth edition, revised. Columbia, 1907, 86 p.

Proceedings at the University of Missouri at the conferring of the degree of Doctor of Laws upon Hon. Wm. Warner, U. S. Senator. Columbia, 1906. 15 p.

Summer course in geology and geography. Columbia. n. d. [4] p.

''Choosing a Profession,'' an address to the students by F. A. Delano. n. p., n. d. 12 p.

Analysis of problems in college athletics, by C. W. Hetherington. Columbia. n. d. 42 p.

Announcement of the Division of History and Political Science. 1907-08. Columbia, n. d. 24 p.

Publications by members of the faculty between June 1, 1900, and June 1, 1906. (Reprint from the President's Report.)

University of Missouri Studies:

Science Series. Vol. 1, No. 2, Jan., 1907.

The flora of Columbia, Missouri, and vicinity, by Francis Potter Daniels. 319 p. map.

Science Series. Vol. II, No. 1. Dec., 1907. An introduction to the Mechanics of the inner ear by Max Meyer, Ph. D. 139 [1] p.

University of Missouri News Letter:

A monthly publication, commencing Oct. 31, 1906, and issued monthly since.

School of Mines:

Missouri School of Mines (Book of 23 views. oblong). n. p. n. d.

NOTES.

Rev. Dr. W. A. Quayle was born at Parkville, Missouri, and from Parkville University received the batchelor's degree, the master's degree and the degree of doctor of literature, Allegheny College conferred the degree of Ph. D., and Depau University that of D. D. He was ordained a Methodist minister in 1886, was a fraternal delegate to the English Wesleyen Church in 1902, and later was a member of the Hymnal Revision Committee.

May 23, 1908, at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Baltimore he was elected a Bishop. He is the author of "The Poet's poet and other essays," "A study in current social theories," "A hero and some other folks," "The blessed life," "In God's out of doors," "Eternity in the heart," and "The prairies and the sea."

Among the late donations to the Society, a valuable one was made by Dr. Zopher Case, of Warrensburg, Missouri, a relative of the founder of the Case school of applied science in Cleveland, Ohio, consisting of about 4000 numbers of magazines and medical journals. Of the latter about 350 numbers were of Missouri medical journals.

"The Morals of Marcus" has been translated into Esperanto and was played in that language at a series of six matinees in May by Marie Doro and an especially selected company at one of Charles Frohman's London theaters. Sometime previous to that a church service was held in that language in Cambridge, the service, hymns and sermon being in Esperanto, and to this service persons came from all over Europe. At the assembly at Chautauqua, New York, this summer, Esperanto will have a prominent place on the program.

The Muskogee correspondent of the Kansas City Times tells of Miss Beulah Reynolds, who was born in Randolph county, Missouri, and educated at Lexington, Missouri, being a regular deputy United States marshal in the eastern district of Oklahoma, and states that she is the only known woman deputy U. S. marshal. Some years ago Phoebe Cousins, of Missouri was a regular deputy of her father who was marshal of the eastern district of Missouri.

Henry Dorman, a civil war veteran, for thirty years a resident of Missouri, and at present residing at Liberal, Missouri, is now past 109 years of age. He enlisted from Michigan, in 1864, took part in the battle of Gettysburg and other engagements, and is now drawing a pension of $50 per month, by act of Congress.

Brig. Gen. James Shields, of the Civil War, was United States Senator from three states—Illinois, Minnesota and Missouri, and he held the above title in three wars. A bill has been introduced in Congress to appropriate $5,000 to erect a monument over his grave in St. Mary's cemetery, Carrollton, Missouri.

REVIEW OF BOOKS.

The career of a journalist, By William Salisbury, New York, B. W. Dodge & Co., 1908.

This gives the experiences of a newspaper man in five American cities, two of which were in Missouri, on papers of every shade of political opinion, on papers "yellow" and papers "conservative." There is told so much of events and interviews that the author shows he published as facts and that were so only in his imagination, that one is undecided whether to take all the record of his career as real facts or not, but he holds the interest of the reader to the end of the book. It may not be adopted as a text book in a school of journalism, but a young journalist may learn many points in journalism from it and learn of customs and practices that he should try to avoid.

NECROLOGY.

Hon. Carl Frederick Arnoldi was born in the city of Alfeld, Germany, May 20, 1847, came to Missouri in 1866, married in 1868, moved to Mine La Motte the same year and to St. Francois county in 1901. In 1904 he was elected to the 43d General Assembly on the Republican ticket, the first Republican ever sent to the Legislature from that county. He died of Bright's disease at Flat River, April 5, 1908, and he was buried in the Masonic cemetery at Farmington.

Richard Aylett Barret was born in Clifland, Green county, Kentucky, June 21, 1834, and came with his parents to St. Louis when six years of age. His education was varied and was obtained from Phillips Exeter Academy, St. Louis University, Harvard College, Missouri Medical College, and the Universities of Bonn, Munich and Heidelberg. He afterwards studied law. During the Civil War he was a Union man and closely associated with Gen. Lyon, Gen. Farrar, Col. J. O. Broadhead and other Union leaders at St. Louis at the beginning of the war. After the war he was a prime mover in promoting the interests of the Agricultural and Mechanical Fair Association, and prepared for publication its Sixth annual Fair Report.

For a time he owned and edited the Gazette, of Burlington, Iowa, and returning to St. Louis he was connected with the Evening Dispatch, and the St. Louis Times. He was private secretary to his brother, Arthur B. Barret, while he was mayor of St. Louis, and held the same position with Mayor James H. Britton. He died in St. Louis April 6, 1908, and was buried in Bellefontaine cemetery, Bishop D. S. Tuttle officiating.

Judge Gustavus A. Finkelnburg was one of the most eminent jurists of Missouri, and a well known writer and speaker on legal and political topics. During the whole time of the existence of the Missouri Bar Association he was a member of it, having helped to organize it in 1880. For some years he was an instructor in the St. Louis Law School. He was an ardent Republican and was the nominee of that party for Governor in 1876, and for Supreme Court judge in 1898.

He was born near Cologne, Prussia, April 6, 1837, and at an early age came to St. Charles, Missouri. After graduating from St. Charles College he graduated from the Cincinnati Law School, was admitted to the bar in Missouri in 1860, a member of the Missouri legislature from 1864 to 1868, and served two terms in Congress from 1868 to 1872. He was appointed judge of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, May 20, 1905, from which ill health compelled him to resign April 1, 1907. He was the author of the legal work "Practice in the Supreme Court and Courts of Appeals, St. Louis, 1894." For years he was a partner of Henry Hitchcock, brother of Ethan Allen Hitchcock, former Secretary of the Interior. He went to Colorado in search of health but died in Denver, May 18, 1908.

Judge Samual W. Hudson, president of the Missouri State board of agriculture, died at his home near Buckner, Jackson county, April 20, 1908. He was born March 2, 1842, on the farm where he died, and where he had spent his life, excepting four years in the Confederate army. He was educated at the Masonic College at Lexington and at William Jewell College at Liberty. He had served as judge of the Jackson county court.

Hon. H. F. Knippenberg, president of the Central Bank, of St. Charles, Missouri, a member of the House of Representatives in the thirty-seventh General Assembly, 1893, died at St. Charles, April 28, 1908.

Rev. Dr. J. O'B. Lowry for twenty-one years pastor of Calvary Baptist Church in Kansas City, from 1882 to 1903, when he accepted a call to Atlantic City, N. J., in hopes that his health would be benefited by the change, died there March, 1908. He was the author of "Truth Gleams," published at Philadelphia in 1891, and of which he presented a copy to the Historical Society.

MISSOURI SOCIETY OF THE TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

THE MEETING AT COLUMBIA, MAY 2ND.

PRESIDENT.
E. M. VIOLETTE,
State Normal School,
Kirksville.

SECRETARY-TREASURER.
ANNA C. GILDAY,
Manual Training High School,
Kansas City.

VICE PRESIDENT.
H. R. TUCKER,
McKinley High School,
St. Louis.

EDITOR.
N. M. TRENHOLME,
University of Missouri,
Columbia.

The first meeting of the Missouri Society of the Teachers of History and Government has passed off successfully and left many pleasant and profitable memories behind in the minds of those who attended the sessions. In spite of the many counter attractions of High School day the number of those present was larger than anyone had anticipated and all parts of the state were represented. Even more satisfactory than the attendance, however, was the spirit shown and the interest taken in the papers and discussions. This is a fact that promises well for future meetings, and it has been a source of great encouragement to the officers of the Society. It is to be hoped that the good work begun at Columbia will be followed up, and a large membership enrolled by next year.

The morning session of the Society was called to order at a little after nine by President Loeb, who welcomed the teachers and referred briefly to the organization of the new Society. He then introduced Mr. H. R. Tucker, of the McKinley High School as the opener of the conference on "The Relation of History and Government in Secondary Schools." Mr. Tucker read a most interesting paper in which he showed by concrete examples and illustrations how important the teaching of government was in history work, and how it should be interwoven with the political history of different countries. He did not seem to think that separate courses in History and in Government were practicable under present conditions, though favoring the separation of American History and American Government if such separation could be arranged. Mr. Tucker's paper was listened to with great interest and attention and provoked much favorable comment. The next contribution was a clear and interesting discussion by Superintendent M. A. O'Rear, of Boonville, on "The Teaching of Economics in High Schools." In this a plea was made for more recognition of the economic side of life in the school course of study, and the results achieved at Boonville in the field of economic study were referred to. The subject of history and the allied subjects were next ably discussed by Mr. C. M. Weyand, of the Moberly High School in a brief clear talk. The whole subject being thrown open to general discussion remarks were made by Professor Ellwood, of the Sociology Department of the University of Missouri, Mr. Shouse, of the Westport High School, Kansas City, Principal Phillips, of the Manual Training High School, Kansas City, Dr. R. G. Usher, of the History Department of Washington University, St. Louis, and by Mr. Shannon, of the Warrensburg Normal School, and possibly others. The Chairman called on Mr. Tucker to close the discussion, and also contributed to it himself. The meeting adjourned at eleven o'clock in order to attend the general conference of teachers in the University Auditorium.

At the second session held in the afternoon there were not quite so many present as at the morning meeting, but those who were able to attend were well repaid for their trouble, as the three papers read were all of unusual excellence. Dr. R. G. Usher, of Washington University, read a most interesting and at the same time scholarly and critical account of "The Mystery of Mary Stuart," while Dr. Frank F. Stephens, of the University of Missouri, gave a graphic description of the famous "Clay-Tyler Controversy of 1841," and Professor Jesse Lewis discussed in an original and forcible manner "The Educational Value of History as a School Subject." In addition to the foregoing papers an important business meeting was held at which the Constitution of the Society was formally adopted, after some discussion over the question of teachers of Economics and a few slight amendments. The Constitution as amended and adopted reads as follows:

Constitution of the Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government.

1. **Name**—This Society shall be known as the Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government.

2. **Purpose**—The purpose of this Society shall be the improvement of the methods and the subject matter in the teaching of History, Government and Economics in all the schools of Missouri, the distribution of literature regarding such instruction, and the promotion of social relations among the teachers of those subjects in the graded school, the secondary schools, the Normal Schools and the Colleges and Universities of the State.

3. **Officers**—The officers of this Society shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, an Editor, and an Executive Council. The President, the Vice President, the Secretary and Treasurer and the Editor shall be elected for a term of one year at the spring meeting of the Society. The Executive Council shall consist of the President, the Vice President, the Secretary and Treasurer, the Editor, all the ex-Presidents and three other members elected by the Society. The elected members shall hold office for three years each, one being elected each year.

The duties of the President, the Vice President, and the Secretary and Treasurer shall be those usually assigned to such officers.

The Editor shall be some one who resides in Columbia, Missouri, and who is connected with the University. It shall be his duty to edit that portion of the Missouri Historical Review which is set aside for the use of this Society. He is empowered to appoint as many Assistant Editors as he may see fit.

It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to pass upon all applications for membership, to arrange for all meetings of the Society, and to transact all business of the Society not otherwise provided for. The Council shall meet at least two months prior to the time of the next preceding meeting of the Society to arrange the program of that meeting and to transact other business. In case the Council fails to meet within the required time the President shall proceed to arrange the program himself.

4. **Membership**—All persons who are engaged in the teaching of History, Government or Economics in any of the Schools in the State are eligible to membership in this Society. They may become members by applying for membership, and by paying the membership fee of one dollar after their names have been approved by the Executive Council. This fee will be due each year at the date of the spring meeting and if not paid within three months after that date, membership in this Society ceases. The fund created by this fee shall be used in defraying the incidental expenses of the Society.

5. **Meetings**—This Society shall hold two meetings each year. One shall be held in connection with the annual meeting of the State Teachers' Association of Missouri as the History Section of that body. With the permission of the State Teachers' Association the President, the Vice President, and the Secretary and Treasurer of this Society shall also act as the Chairman, the Vice Chairman, and the Secretary of the History Section of that body. The other meeting shall be held in April or May, the exact date of which shall be determined each year by the Executive Council. The spring meeting shall be the Annual Meeting of the Society for the election of officers and the transaction of general business. Every meeting shall be open to all persons interested in His-

tory, Government and Economics, but only members shall have the right to discuss matters of business and to vote.

6. **Official Organ**—The official organ of the Society shall be the Missouri Historical Review which shall be sent to all members paying the annual fee of one dollar.

7. **Amendments**—This Constitution may be amended at any meeting by a two-thirds vote of those present.

After the adoption of the constitution the Society proceeded to elect officers for 1908-9 and the election resulted as follows: President, E. M. Violette, of the Kirksville Normal; Vice President, H. R. Tucker, of the McKinley High School, St. Louis; Secretary and Treasurer, Anna C. Gilday, Manual Training High School, Kansas City; Editor, N. M. Trenholme, University of Missouri; Members of Council, Dr. R. G. Usher, of Washington University, Professor M. S. Wildman, of the University of Missouri, and Professor Jesse Lewis, of the Maryville Normal.

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Missouri historical review

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